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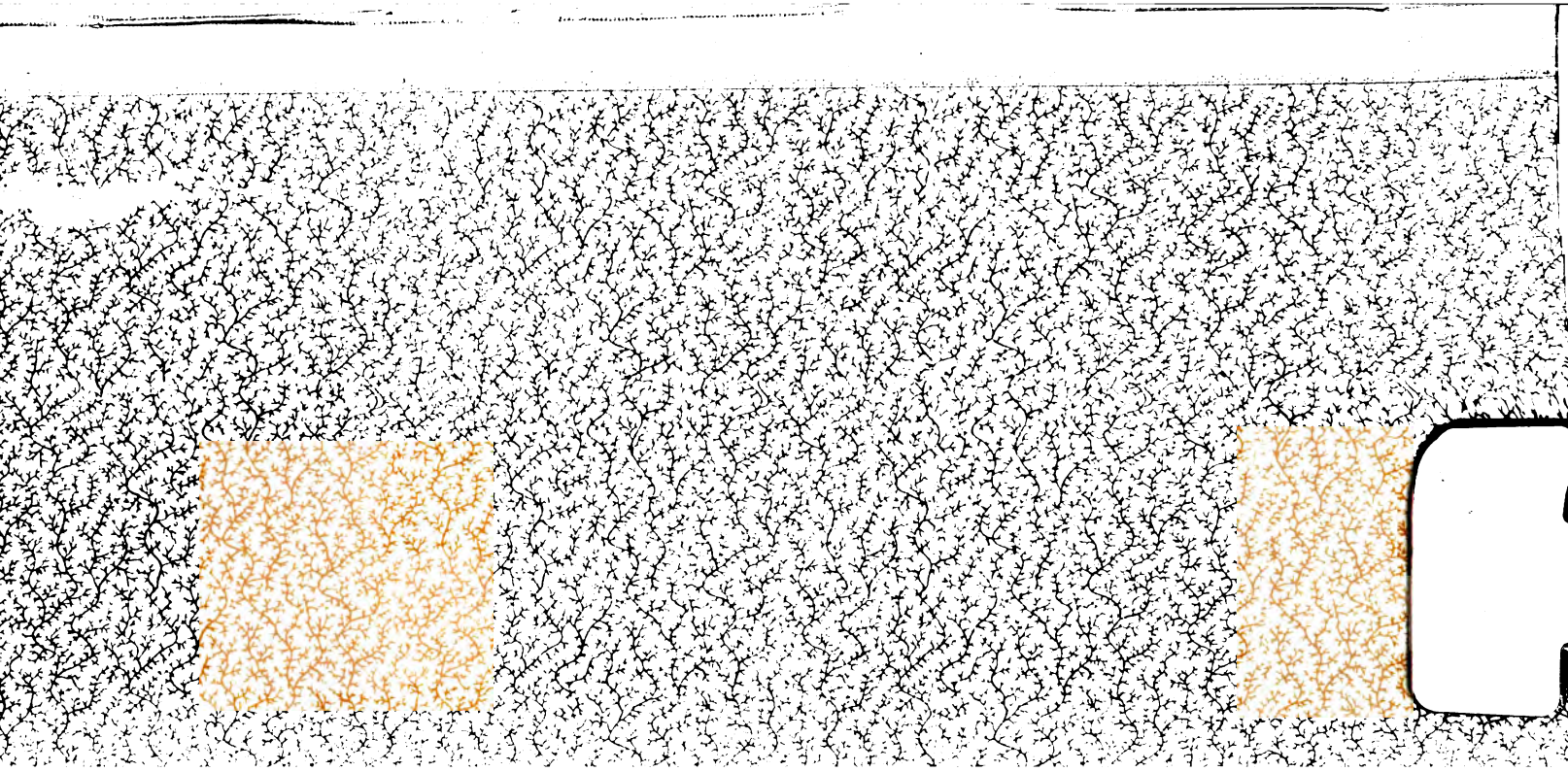
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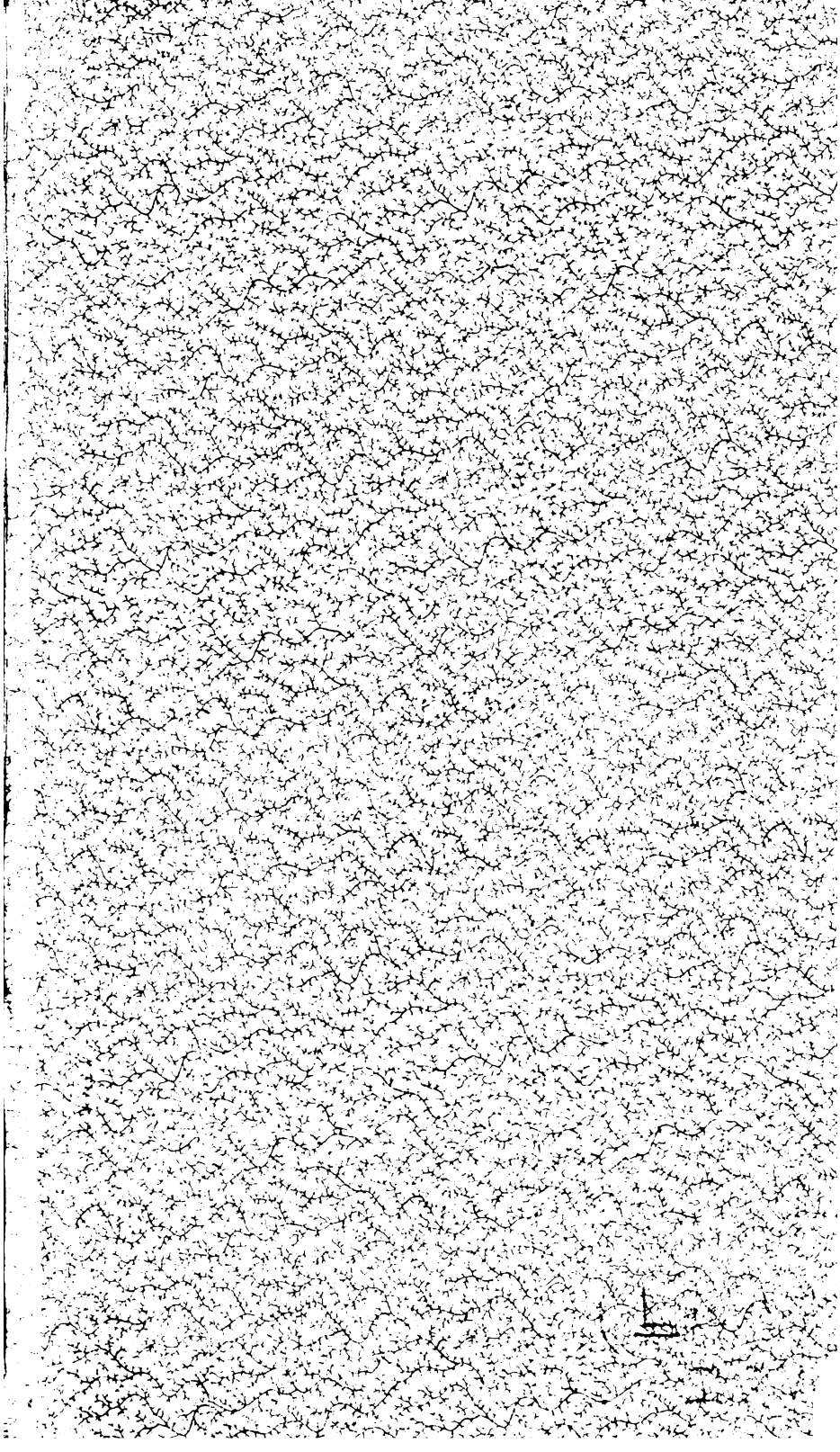
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LETTERS

FROM

THE COUNT DE LAS CASES:

CONSISTING OF

A SECOND LETTER TO PRINCE LUCIEN BONAPARTE, IN WHICH IS CONTAINED AN ACCOUNT OF THE CIRCUMSTANCES ATTENDING HIS ARREST AND REMOVAL FROM ST. HELENA;

AND

A LETTER TO SIR HUDSON LOWE, COMPRISING AN HISTORICAL DETAIL OF THE WHOLE OF THAT OFFICER'S GOVERNMENT AT ST. HELENA, AND HIS OPPRESSIVE CONDUCT TOWARDS NAPOLEON AND HIS SUITE:

With

AN APPENDIX

OF

OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE, BETWEEN SIR HUDSON LOWE AND COUNT DE LAS CASES.

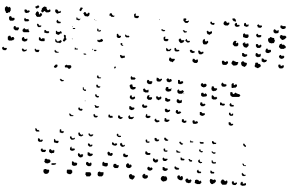
TO WHICH IS PREFIXED, A COPIOUS INTRODUCTION; AND THE WHOLE INTERSPERSED WITH EXPLANATORY NOTES.

"John, in captivity, received the honours of a King, which were refused him when seated on the throne: his misfortunes, not his title, were respected; and the French Prisoners, conquered by this elevation of mind, more than by their late discomfiture, burst into tears of admiration; which were only checked by the reflection, that such genuine and unaltered heroism in an enemy, must certainly, in the issue, prove but the more dangerous to their native country."—HUME'S ENGLAND, CHAP. XVI.

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1819.



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INTRODUCTION.

It is said that there are some individuals in this country, who, whenever the hardships of Napoleon Bonaparte are mentioned, or any attempt made to excite their sympathy in favour of the fallen Emperor, coldly reply, that the subject has ceased to interest the nation; Napoleon is forgotten, and it is therefore in vain to revive the question! If there is any truth in the above assertion, it is highly disgraceful to our national character, and cannot be too severely reprehended. An illustrious victim of adversity, who, fatally relying on the generosity of the country, seeks a voluntary protection amongst us, is given up to the vindictive malice of his ene-

mies; he is conveyed to a desolate rock in the southern hemisphere, and while exposed to every species of insult and vexation, his sufferings are not to be mentioned, for they have ceased to be interesting! Those, who have promulgated this detestable doctrine, even pretend, that it has in some trifling degree penetrated the walls of Parliament, and more particularly reached the "Country Gentlemen." In the present state of the report, the Writer has no hesitation in pronouncing it to be a base calumny; and he therefore most anxiously looks forward to that discussion and inquiry, in both our august assemblies, to prove, that the members of a British Senate are incapable of making themselves participators in the crimes of Ministers, by manifesting either apathy or indifference to the fate of a man, who has claims to their attention

on the triple score of religion, humanity, and justice!

It is now above three years since the Emperor, Napoleon Bonaparte, abandoned by fortune, and anxious to heal the political wounds of his subjects, sought an asylum in this country, and claimed the protection of a British ship of war, thus at once giving up every prospect of obtaining those terms, which a second appeal to his armies, or an application to his father-in-law, the Emperor of Austria, would have been certain of insuring; while he paid a flattering compliment to that nation, which, in his letter to the Prince Regent, was emphatically called the oldest and most constant of his enemies. How the confidence then placed, in the boasted magnanimity of England has been misplaced, innumerable facts and various publications are before the public to prove; and more than suf-

ficient has been recorded to convince the impartial-part of it, that we have not only in the reception, but subsequent treatment of Napoleon Bonaparte, forfeited a large share of the national character for honour and good faith. Yet, there have occurred many incidents, a knowledge of which, though insignificant in themselves, when compared with the grand question of our natural right to detain the Emperor, becomes absolutely necessary, before the nation can be considered as having the whole of this momentous case fairly and fully elucidated.

When it is said, that the facts contained in the following correspondence are *comparatively* trifling, let it not be imagined, the Writer wishes thereby to diminish their vexatious tendency, in aggravating the horrors of Napoleon's situation, and goading the fallen chief on to final dissolution. Their positive effect, in this way, cannot

fail to strike the most insensible heart; and were it not, that the name and condition of the illustrious exile is so immediately and materially interwoven with the present state of European politics, the title would have been considered as a sufficient preface to what follows. There are, however, some important facts to relate, as well as a few explanations called for on this occasion, which will, it is hoped, greatly assist the public in forming a final judgment on the question, which is thus submitted to its most serious consideration.

Without now attempting to contend against the violent breach of natural justice, and national law, by which Napoleon Bonaparte is deprived of his personal liberty, and exposed to so many indignities; and willing, for the sake of argument, to admit, that the repose of Europe depends on the incarceration of a single individual,

does it follow, that the treatment adopted towards the being thus proscribed, should make his imprisonment and exile tantamount to a sentence of death? Connected with this view of the subject, some points relative to St. Helena require to be particularly considered. When this is done, it is left for the candid and unbiassed to say, whether the natural consequence of persisting in the present system of governing the above island, will not be a final termination to the woes of Napoleon.

In the first place, then, and with respect to the climate of St. Helena, not only the Ministers and other mercenary Swiss of state, but their hirelings of the press, have laboured to convince the whole country, that it is remarkably salubrious. The best and only feasible reply to all their arguments and assertions will be found in the official returns of the

medical departments, by which it appears, that several hundreds of the garrison and naval squadron have already perished, from diseases usually prevalent in such latitudes. To these incontrovertible proofs may be added the various accounts, written and verbally communicated, by many respectable individuals, long resident on the island; and when it is considered, that rain, combined with dense fogs, and a vertical sun, prevails nearly eight months out of the twelve, is it in the nature of probability, that such a spot, within fourteen degrees of the equator, can be called healthy, in the European acceptation of the word?

If virulent diseases are generated under the ordinary routine of duty, what is likely to result from an unusual and extraordinary addition to it; for, according to the latest intelligence, the brave soldiers of the 66th, who were brought from the

East Indies for this dignified service, are, together with the seamen and marines of the squadron, employed in conveying the ponderous materials and erecting the far-famed wooden palace, which is said to have cost sixty thousand pounds before it was launched from Deptford dock yard! Although no prophet, the Writer ventures to foretel, that before this emblem of ministerial taste and folly is completed, many truly valuable lives will be sacrificed for its accomplishment! But let the work go on. Modern state papers and public addresses of royalty assure us there is a DIVINE PROVIDENCE: who can say, that in the course of its infinite

* That is to say, in immense logs of timber, iron bars, bricks, &c.; for no building, in frame, was ever sent out, although the public were surfeited for weeks with pompous descriptions, in the ministerial papers, of the *space* and elegance of the rooms, the fine taste displayed in decorating them, and such other chimeras.

wisdom and retributive justice, this very abode, with its lofty iron enclosure, is not one day or other destined to receive some people, who are now exulting in Napoleon's humiliation and sufferings? Let those, who have converted St. Helena into a state prison, for emperors and kings, therefore, look well to the consequences! Did the artist of Agrigentum anticipate, that the tyrant Phalaris, for whom he formed the brazen bull, would have put himself into the instrument of torture to try its efficacy?

Much has been lately said about the necessity of economy, and the Ministers have made great promises; but how have these been fulfilled? particularly with regard to St. Helena? where the civil, military, and naval establishment does not cost the people of this country less than between four and five hundred thousand

pounds per annum! There are those, who may dispute this assertion: but nothing less than a fair statement of the accounts laid before parliament will convince the public of its inaccuracy.

Having taken the foregoing striking facts into consideration, is it not worth while inquiring, whether the mass of human misery thus accumulated on the heads of unoffending individuals, would not be obviated, by transferring the illustrious exile to a less inhospitable region, where his personal security might be guaranteed at one tenth of the present expense, without subjecting so many hundred souls to all the horrors of disease and a destructive climate, and where the captive's life might be rendered in some trifling degree supportable?

With respect to the treatment uniformly experienced by all the inmates of Long-

wood, since the present Governor's appointment, it has been of the most rigorous and unnecessary description: this is amply proved in the unrefuted statements already published by Count de Las Cases, and particularly those contained in his Letters, which follow.

The insufficiency of provisions, or badness of their quality, is not esteemed so great a hardship, by Napoleon and his suite, as the moral evils of their situation; such as a prohibition of all intercourse with society, privation of books* and newspapers, or various other humiliations to which they are exposed. The first has been somewhat remedied, by applying the money arising from the sale of the Emperor's plate, or that lent by Count de Las

* A list of all the books received at Longwood, until the middle of 1818, will be found at the end of this volume, in Appendix E.

Cases, and by other means; but the rest are absolutely *irremediable*.

As to the restrictions imposed by Sir Hudson Lowe, and of which a copy will be found in the Appendix*, they require little comment. In these, Napoleon was prohibited from SPEAKING to any persons he met; while the few, who obtained a pass to visit Longwood, were interdicted from communicating with any of his suite: so that, if a stranger arrived at the scene of exile, and could not speak French, he was not allowed to call upon any of the prisoners, not even Madame Bertrand, to interpret for him; nor could the individuals of Napoleon's suite introduce a visitor to their master. The Emperor's walk was also limited to a single pathway; and in the event of his wandering only a few yards from this, the nearest centinel

* See page 165.

would be fully justified in SHOOTING HIM FOR AN ATTEMPT TO ESCAPE!

Whence arises the malignant necessity of selecting the particular newspapers destined for the Emperor's perusal? or of withholding all those, that contain any thing, which the Governor thinks calculated to shed a ray of hope on, or contribute to lighten the fetters of his illustrious captive? What motive can Sir Hudson Lowe have, in purchasing all the copies of interesting works, that reach the island, for his own specific use, thus leaving no chance of Napoleon's procuring a sight of them? Who could have prompted the Lieutenant General and Governor, to deprive a *father* of his *son's* portrait, by purchasing the said portrait from a person recently arrived at St. Helena, for the alledged and express purpose, as he said, of presenting it to the Emperor; though,

he must have known, such an act of kindness and delicacy was not in his contemplation, *for the picture never reached Longwood?* What could have prompted a want of common decorum, and violation of all decency, towards the female sex, in causing the wearing apparel of the French ladies to be inspected by MEN; and, amongst others, the Adjutant General, Sir Thomas Reade, by whom that of Countess Bertrand was held up to view, while remarks, degrading to her lovely sex, and revolting to the feelings of a man, were made upon it!

Ministers have said a great deal about their willingness to allow *General Bonaparte*, as they are pleased to style him, all possible indulgence, that may be consistent with his safe custody: how is the fact in this case? On the 1st of January, 1818, Lord Bathurst writes a Letter to Sir

Hudson Lowe*, in which his Lordship very plausibly suggests some ameliorations, at least according to his ideas; and on the 16th of May following, the latter, meaning no doubt to second the Right Honourable Secretary's benevolent intentions, at the same moment that he sent his Lordship's Letter to Longwood, issues a PROCLAMATION, of which a copy will also be found in the present publication*, absolutely forbidding all the officers, inhabitants, or other persons at St. Helena, from holding any correspondence or communication whatever, with the "*foreign persons*" detained there. And thus it has been on every occasion, that when the Ministers wished to *assume* an appearance of moderation at home, their representative abroad has taken special care

* See Appendix, page 184.

* See Appendix, page 196.

to counteract their philanthropic design by measures of his own. When speaking of the beloved Ferdinand's conduct, in so unceremoniously turning out his Ministers, the king of Prussia is said to have exclaimed, "*Ma foi, ceci! c'est la politique du Grand Seigneur!*" It would be extremely difficult for his Prussian majesty to find a parallel to the policy of my Lord Bathurst and Sir Hudson Lowe.

If the Writer did not feel satisfied, that enough has been adduced, in the way of incontrovertible fact, to convince the country, that inquiry has now become an act of necessity, many more could be subjoined of nearly equal importance. That the Ministers dread any inquiry into the transactions at St. Helena is most amply proved by the severe pains and penalties denounced against those officers, or other individuals resident on the island,

who have the temerity to communicate or divulge any circumstance, no matter how trifling, connected with its internal history. When this fact is coupled with the many false reports so industriously circulated by the hireling editors of certain well known journals, and grave accounts of plots planned and executed in Downing Street; while the exiles of Longwood, and all those who are jealous for the character of our country, not only challenge their accusers to come forward, but earnestly *solicit* investigation; it is left for a candid public to decide, which party is most likely to have justice on its side!

It is impossible to reflect on our treatment of Napoleon, without comparing it with that hitherto adopted by civilized governments to dethroned or captive sovereigns. What a contrast does not this harsh usage of Napoleon Bonaparte display to the reception of a former French king, captured in battle,

during a comparatively barbarous period of our history: whereas, the captive Emperor surrendered voluntarily, and sought an asylum amongst us. Well might Mr. Burke exclaim, that the age of chivalry is gone!

Whatever the peace of Europe may seem to require, or *state policy* suggest, let us not lose sight of Napoleon's detention, either as it regards the people of France, or the immediate personal interests of all present and future sovereigns. With respect to the former, it will be quite as well to remember, that they called Napoleon Bonaparte to the throne; that by the fortune of war, and force of arms, they have had captive kings in their power, and may again. Should this, by no means improbable, event take place, what course would the ignominious treatment experienced by their late ruler lead to on their part? If, imitating the ferocity of

Tamerlane, we shut up a sovereign* who throws himself on our generosity (for Bajazet was taken in battle), will not the French be more than justified in following our example?

Reflecting on the case of our history nearest in point to the present, it should be recollected, that the avowed cause of the sanguinary war carried on by Edward the Third against John of France was for the crown of that kingdom, and of which our monarch pretended to be the sole legitimate possessor. This great question having been tried by the fate of arms, and proving favourable to us, the conqueror might then have profited by the occasion thus afforded, to refuse acknowledging as king, when in his power, the person whom he had considered and

* The reader need not be reminded of the iron cage to which St. Helena is so justly compared.

even declared an usurper, while actually seated on the throne. The relations of our Government with Napoleon were totally different: it is true, we had not recognized him as the sovereign of France by a formal act! But did we recognize any other? Certainly not! His rights to the throne were so far from being the true cause of the war, that in all the overtures for negotiations, which were made on our part, the acknowledgment of his rights to sovereignty was never included, or even so much as questioned in any of the articles proposed, to such a degree had this acknowledgment been already tacitly admitted. The difference is, that King John, a prisoner, was treated as a king, by the person who pretended to be himself the legitimate sovereign of France, thus proving, that he was neither insensible to the calls of humanity or a short-sighted poli-

tician; whilst Napoleon, a prisoner, is treated as a subject by those, who, while he was on the throne of France, did not recognize any other sovereign in that country.

As this subject regards the reigning monarchs of Europe; is it their interest to establish a precedent for the exile and imprisonment of kings? or of exposing them, when in adversity, to the distressing alternative of being under the charge of subjects like Sir Hudson Lowe? Finally, if the Sovereigns are determined to establish a precedent, which may be so ruinous to themselves in the end, ought it to take place in the person of one, who is connected by ties of consanguinity with most of them, not excepting *our own Royal Family*, and with *all* of whom he has treated as an equal?

If there were any possibility of avoid-

ing it, nothing would gratify the Writer so much as being permitted to separate this question from all party feelings, making it one of pure humanity and justice; possessing claims to attention with every individual in the empire, no matter what his political sentiments may be. But, unhappily, the force of long habit, no less than the circumstances of the days we live in, render his wishes on this head fallacious. Besides, those who have contrived to obtain the ascendancy in Europe, by taking advantage of the trading spirit of the times, and converting the fears of interested men to their own views of personal aggrandizement, are too selfish and illiberal, either to diminish their power by its participation, or impair it by concession. Fatally successful in their plans of universal oppression, they feel, that as this

power was gained by imposture, it can only be continued by deceit; and that every acquiescence in favour of liberal ideas, while it exposes their deformity must shorten their triumph. It is from a recurrence to the system of state policy and political expediency (the offspring of a barbarous age, by which a great part of Europe continues still to be governed, as well as the whole of their conduct towards Napoleon), that an appeal to the present Ministers of this country seems to offer no rational hope of success: if, however, they are desirous of manifesting any zeal in the cause of justice, a most favourable opportunity is now presented, by their not opposing an inquiry into the transactions at St. Helena.

If the Tory faction of England, to the policy of which, Europe is indebted for so

many of its political evils, presents nothing but a " barren waste, in which no salutary plant takes root, no verdure quickens," it is far otherwise with the Whig interest of our country. Many members of this patriotic body have fought and bled for liberty. Here a fairer prospect opens; and upon them I call, in the name of the whole British empire; for the sake of that country, whose honour is more immediately implicated; and as they regard the good opinion of posterity or approbation of their conscience; to take up this question upon the broad basis of justice and policy; for these are never inconsistent or at variance. It cannot serve their cause in any way, that the hostility and malevolence of administration shall continue to be thus directed, in the absence of other objects, against that man, who, having combated us in war for twenty

years, when the day of adversity arrived, selected us as the most generous of his enemies, and sought an asylum on our shores.

Much as the Writer deplores those unhappy differences, which separate the friends of freedom, whose interests are virtually the same, and whose happiness can never be obtained without mutual concession and cordial co-operation, he is too well acquainted with the third class of political reasoners in this country to suppose them capable of indifference on the subject of Napoleon's treatment. The obloquy and shame, which has been so profusely bestowed on this party, while it betrays a want of candour and generosity in the authors, cannot fail to prove seriously detrimental to the cause of rational liberty. The experience of history furnishes but too many proofs,

of persecution in politics having produced similar effects to what it has in religion; whereas wisdom suggests, and policy dictates, that the only effectual mode of eradicating errors in either, can alone be found in a sober appeal to the understanding, rather than in any attempt to irritate the passions of mankind.

If the claims of that party (upon whose patriotism the Writer has felt it his duty to call on this occasion) to public confidence are, in a great measure, derived from its meritorious exertions in favour of the oppressed and unprotected, surely those claims cannot suffer any diminution, from an open and manly effort to render the fallen Emperor's captivity as light as may be consistent with his detention, allowing that a continuation of this most harsh measure is found necessary. Without pretending to name the

precise period at which this mighty man may be permitted to enjoy his natural liberty, none but those, who are the slaves of prejudice and passion, can maintain, that such a period ought not to arrive.

After the torrents of blood that have been shed, and the immense sacrifices which have been made, to obtain that, which the present European oligarchy so triumphantly calls "indemnity for the past and security for the future," it would be melancholy indeed, if its title to the confidence of nations, and right to govern them, is founded on no better basis than the incarceration of the solitary and illustrious individual confined at St. Helena.

Should this be the case, the Writer has no hesitation in saying, that their political edifice is built upon sand, and must inevitably fall to the ground!

We have already had a terrible lesson to prove, that public opinion is the only solid foundation of civil and political institutions. Does their unwillingness to profit by past experience, aided by the "distempered vigour and insane alacrity," with which some of the legitimates are hurrying on to their ruin, indicate a determination once more to try the great problem, which has been solved so tremendously for the civilized world? If so, the pertinacity with which they reject every appeal in favour of Napoleon is only a part of the preconcerted system; and, like the excesses of Ferdinand, may hasten the catastrophe.

Having been led into somewhat greater detail than he expected, it only remains for the Editor of the following Letters and Documents, to express an ardent hope, that statements, which are thus offered

to public consideration, as containing nothing but what can be proved by credible witnesses, both in this country and at St. Helena, will be perused with the degree of attention which they so justly merit.

With respect to the principal writer of these Letters, Count de Las Cases, he has pleaded his own cause so well, and is so eminently distinguished for the affectionate constancy, with which he has clung to the broken fortunes of his master, that nothing is left for his friends or admirers to say in his behalf; for the man, who can so fairly lay claim to such heroic virtues, needs no panegyrist beyond the approbation of his own conscience. The Count's appeal to the two Houses of Parliament is also well worthy an attentive perusal, by those who wish to see justice done to the fallen chief, in whose cause it was written.

Another writer, very properly adopting the motto of "AUDI ALTERAM PARTEM," has just come forward with a second appeal, which he makes to the honour of the English nation; and, in language at once eloquent and manly, ably advocates the cause of justice, fully proving how much it has been violated in our conduct towards Napoleon.

Count Montholon's Letter to Sir Hudson Lowe, dated August 23rd, 1816, is a highly important document, and replete with arguments the most irresistible, in reply to the treaty of August 2nd, in the preceding year, by which the *magnanimous* Allied Sovereigns declare the repose of Europe to depend on the Emperor's detention, and provide for it accordingly. The "Letters from St. Helena," likewise, contain, amongst other important information, a minute detail of the allowances

granted by Sir Hudson Lowe to the Prisoners." The Observations on Lord Bathurst's extraordinary Speech, delivered in the House of Lords on the 18th March, 1817, are also particularly entitled to the consideration of the country. These well-written remarks are no less distinguished for perspicuity of reasoning than the strictest adherence to truth, and make out a case in favour of the fallen Ruler, which is absolutely unanswerable.

A letter from Count Bertrand to his friend the Count de Las Cases closes the official papers, which it has been thought necessary to publish in the present volume; so that the nation is now in full possession of every material fact connected with this important question; while its representatives have a body of evidence in their hands, which defies refutation. It therefore remains for this once great and

generous country, either to retrieve the national character, so shamefully abandoned ever since the period of Napoleon Bonaparte's voluntary appeal to our magnanimity, or to seal its eternal disgrace, by suffering his ignominious treatment to proceed, for no other earthly purpose, than that of gratifying personal hatred, and perpetuating legitimate despotism in Europe!

LETTERS,

&c. &c.

A

SECOND LETTER

TO

PRINCE LUCIEN BONAPARTE.

A Second Letter from Count de Las Cases to Prince Lucien Bonaparte, &c.

On the passage from St. Helena to the Cape of Good Hope, Jan. 8, 1817.

MY LORD;

When I had the honour of addressing my First Letter to you, I little thought it would have led to those troubles and persecutions, which I am about to detail to your Highness in my Second. In that, I informed you of my having been reduced to the necessity of waiting for a

clandestine opportunity, before I could transmit the promised narrative; such a one did occur, but I was either grossly deceived, or extremely unfortunate, in taking advantage of it.

A resident of St. Helena, who had been my servant ever since our arrival there, appearing to displease Sir Hudson Lowe, was removed by the latter from Longwood. This man, who seemed to have been taken away as a suspicious character, contrived, however, to re-appear there a few days after, notwithstanding the numerous precautions which were adopted to prevent the approach of strangers, and guard the different avenues. He said, that having determined on going to England, he came to offer his services, and know whether he could be of any use to me in that country. As I had been very well satisfied with his conduct while in my service, and thought his fidelity might be safely relied on, I proposed that he should become the bearer of some papers, which could neither endanger his personal safety, nor his conscience. To this he replied, that he would gladly take charge of whatever I liked to entrust

him with. His visits to Longwood were frequently repeated afterwards, and always with the utmost facility, until my letter to your Highness being at length transcribed, it was consigned to him, addressed, under cover, to an intimate friend of mine in London, with a request that he would forward it. I also told my friend, it was no longer possible to transmit any expressions of regard, except by stealth; and that if those, who had charge of us, happened to discover my letter, they ought to blush at their barbarity, which had thus obliged me to adopt a mysterious course, merely for the purpose of communicating sentiments the most candid and inoffensive. This was the whole purport of the letter which inclosed that of your Highness, to the best of my recollection at least, for all my papers having been subsequently seized, memory is now the only guide I have to follow.

Twenty-four hours had not elapsed, after the packet was delivered to my old servant, when an attendant came, while I was conversing with the Emperor, and said, that a Colonel of the Staff, who

had occasionally appeared at Longwood, was waiting in my room, and wanted to see me. From being the usual interpreter, those, who had any business with us, generally addressed themselves to me. I had, however, scarcely entered my apartment, when I was surrounded by a party of soldiers, desired to consider myself under an arrest, and informed, that I must immediately repair to where they were going to conduct me, accompanied by an escort. Remonstrance on my part being perfectly useless, I had only to yield with patience to the armed force, thus sent for the express purpose of dragging me away. The Emperor has since observed, that, on seeing the numerous staff and soldiery moving in every direction about the house, finally bearing me off in the midst of them, it reminded him of so many South American savages dancing round the prisoner they were about to devour*.

* Lieutenant Colonel Sir Thomas Reade, A SICILIAN KNIGHT, and captain in the 27th regiment, was employed to carry the orders of Sir Hudson Lowe into execution on this occasion. His party consisted of two dragoons, a corporal's guard of seven men, and several

Thus ignominiously conducted, I was in the first instance taken to a miserable hut, where the only bed consisted of a hard mattress, upon which I threw myself, and was also obliged to place my unhappy son, rather than suffer him to lay on the ground. He was at this moment thought to be in the greatest danger, being threatened with an attack of aneurism; and it was but a few days before, that I had every reason to believe he would have expired in my arms. We were kept in this hovel without a morsel to eat, until eleven o'clock next day, and when endeavouring to satisfy the wants of my child, I asked those around me for a little bread, whether I presented myself at the door or windows, no attention whatever was paid to the ap-

officers of the Governor's staff; Sir Hudson Lowe himself remaining outside of Longwood with the rest of his staff, dragoons, &c., as a corps de reserve.

Sir Thomas Reade is the personal friend of Sir Hudson Lowe, as well as Deputy Adjutant General at St. Helena. This officer belonged to the Quarter Master General's Department at Messina, during the late war, and his conduct, while attached to the gun boats, led to a curious correspondence, which may, perhaps, become better known to the public on a future day.

plication, and nothing but sentinels with drawn bayonets appeared.

In the mean time, those left in charge of my rooms at Longwood, were not idle: a commissary of police, recently imported into the island, and, I presume, the first officer of that description established on British ground, was destined to make his debut by breaking open my desk and drawers, from whence he took every paper. Anxious to show his dexterity in such pursuits, this myrmidon next proceeded to ransack the beds, take down the canopies which covered them, and at last threatened to remove the very planks from the floor!

Master of my papers, the Governor came the following day, attended by several officers, to produce them before me in triumph, as also for the purpose of examining, and taking a list of them. Sir Hudson Lowe seemed to attach wonderful importance to his new acquisition; nor was it very easy to judge how far he carried his ideas on the subject, for becoming irritated at some expressions of mine, which I had been in the habit of repeating on former occasions, he exclaimed, "Count,

don't make your situation worse, as it is quite bad enough already."

Having no objection to the proposed examination, I observed to the Governor, that he had no right to scrutinize the papers, as a judge, or magistrate, he being neither one nor the other for me, but out of etiquette and precaution, in which points of view, I was perfectly satisfied with the proceeding. Amongst others of minor importance, Sir Hudson Lowe took up one of the most precious documents belonging to me, and which may not perhaps be without some claims to historical veneration on a future day. This was a journal, wherein I had for eighteen months been in the daily habit of noting the conversation, remarkable sayings, and most striking sentiments of the Emperor. The work had become sufficiently large to require an index to the chapters, and a table of contents at the beginning of each month. The Governor, on seeing his name frequently mentioned, turned the first leaves hastily over, so as to advance towards the middle chapters, and discover the more important details; if, therefore, his for-

bearance had some severe trials in the pursuit, he had much less cause to blame the writer than his own indiscretion.

Until its seizure, by order of Sir Hudson Lowe, the existence of the above journal was a profound secret to every one in the island except myself; even the Emperor, who was the sole theme, knew nothing of it; and had not my arrest taken place, the diary would have been regularly continued, though I had determined that the circumstance of its formation should remain a pefect mystery during my life, and perhaps long after.

Having followed up the perusal of my journal for above two hours, I told the Governor, that being anxious to afford him an opportunity of forming a correct idea of its general character, he must have now done so, and had, therefore, gone as far into the scrutiny as decorum justified; that several considerations obliged me to oppose his proceeding any farther, and that, although he possessed the power of doing so, I was bound to protest against his violence and abuse of authority. This remonstrance seemed greatly to disconcert him, and after

some hesitation on his part, it produced the desired effect, for the book was closed, and not re-opened again.

I was also forced to break the seal I had placed on my last wishes, together with several other documents of an equally sacred nature. A note was made of all the letters received from my friends in London, in order that it might be produced at the Secretary of State's office there, and thus ascertain whether some had not reached me through a different channel. I had commenced the rough draft of a second letter to your Highness. The Governor dwelt very attentively on this: I pointed out to him that it was full of erasures and pencil marks, which were almost totally obliterated: I assured him, besides, that it had neither been completed, nor forwarded, and could not therefore be said to exist in reality: that I could disavow it without the smallest scruple; and under these circumstances, I added, that it was impossible for him to make either a legal or official use of such a paper. All the reasons I could advance did not, however, prevent him from causing a transcript

of several passages to be made; Heaven only knows for what purpose!

A note from the late Lieutenant Governor's wife also added very considerably to Sir Hudson Lowe's embarrassment on this memorable occasion. When about to leave St. Helena for England, this excellent lady informed us, that the restrictions prevented her from taking charge of letters; but, if she could serve us in any other way, it would afford her great pleasure to comply with our wishes. Availing myself of this generous offer, I sent by her, for my friends in London, a few trifles, which had belonged to the Emperor, such as a small silver inkstand, some words of his writing, and a lock of his hair: these I called "precious relics," in the note which accompanied them. Mrs. Skelton, in her reply, was kind enough to assure me, that she would not fail to treat them with all the care and respect which they merited; but observed, that she could not help confessing to me the strong inclination she felt to appropriate a small portion of the autography to herself.

Sir Hudson Lowe did not however ima-

gine, that I could venture, or was disposed to state what these *important* articles were; but I had too much regard for those concerned in the transaction to be silent in such a case, and should have been truly mortified had it caused the least uneasiness to Mrs. Skelton, whose note I was induced to retain, merely from motives of respect and the recollection of her many civilities. Colonel Skelton and his lady are a most amiable couple, to whom we had done infinite injury, though certainly without being able to avoid it; and who, notwithstanding all they suffered on our account, redoubled their kindness and attentions towards us all. Our arrival in the island dispossessed them of Longwood: it then led to the suppression of Colonel Skelton's employment, finally sending both back to Europe, with the loss of the Colonel's place and emoluments.

Lastly appeared the most important part of the seized papers, in the Governor's estimation at least; I allude to the famous clandestine documents which had caused my arrest. They had been carefully transcribed, with the exception of some pas-

sages that the copyist could not make out; these I had the very unexpected complaisance to restore myself. In one of them I had requested my London friend to ascertain, whether my Lord Holland had received the papers which I did myself the honour of addressing to his Lordship. Here Sir Hudson Lowe had recourse to the greatest amenity and kindness, for the purpose of finding out what the obscure passage meant. He agreed with me in thinking, that he had no right whatever to force an explanation of it from me; adding, how very much the affair would be simplified and abridged by such a proof of condescension on my part; together with many other observations to the same effect. I replied, with still more solemnity than the Governor had used, that in the above article consisted my GRAND SECRET! and as my words were regularly noted by his secretary, I continued to dictate to the latter by saying, that the answer I had just made was the one most consonant to my education and principles; that any other might have led him into doubts as to my veracity; and that my nature was such as

not to expose the truth of my assertions to the slightest suspicion: that having said thus much, to prove the integrity of my intentions, I would now add, that I had never, in the whole course of my life, had any communication whatever with Lord Holland. This unlooked for finale produced a scene every way worthy of the stage; nor would it be easy to describe the anxious Governor's surprise, the vacant stare of his officers, the fallen pen of the reporter, or my own feelings of exultation over the motley group which surrounded me. I had in fact determined, on the servant's returning to Longwood previous to his leaving St. Helena, to entrust him with some additional documents for the perusal of Lord Holland, explanatory of our situation and sufferings. I had not the honour of knowing his Lordship, except by the noble dignity and superior elevation of his public conduct; but to address the hereditary legislator of his country, and a member of the upper house, in the language of truth, appeared to me perfectly irreprehensible, without being by any

means inconsistent with his Lordship's sense of propriety. On the other hand, I could not help persuading myself, that such a proceeding was not only decorous in itself, but might, in the end, prove highly favourable to the honour and character of England. They did not, however, give me time enough to realise the foregoing part of my intentions; and, as I afterwards supposed, were too precipitate in making the discovery*; for, on the arrest's taking place, I had no doubt in my own mind, but that a regular snare had been laid for me; yet the Governor gave me his word, that he knew nothing

* The Count's intentions were, to have written a letter containing a modest and respectful statement to Lord Holland, of the grievances under which the inmates of Longood laboured, supported by copies of some of the official documents issued by Sir Hudson Lowe; and concluding by praying his Lordship to submit the same for the consideration of the Parliament. This letter, the servant was to have put in the post office, immediately after landing in England; and the Count's London friend was requested, in the other, to ascertain whether it had been received. Had Sir Hudson Lowe waited another day or two, the letter would have been written, and delivered to the servant the next time he came to Longwood.

whatever of such a plan; and I was the more willing to believe the assertion, on his having the candour to acknowledge, that appearances were quite sufficient to justify my suspicions.

Although removed from the receptacle to which I was first conducted, and lodged in a less intolerable habitation, yet even here my confinement was of the most rigorous description. Prevented from holding communication with any person except the attendants, my new residence* was directly opposite to Longwood, from which it was separated by some deep ravines. Whenever my eyes were raised, that object of my thoughts and wishes presented itself. I saw its edifices, and could easily retrace all those habits so familiar to me while living there; but it was impossible to distinguish a single inhabitant. There was something so truly mortifying in the feeling to which this species of suffering gave rise, that it reminded me of the Tartarus of antiquity:

* Balcombe's cottage.

and to the above torment was added another, not less tantalizing, which recurred incessantly to harass my mind: the Emperor was totally ignorant of the motives that led to my violent removal, fatality would have it so! What then could he think, on hearing those about his person speak of my clandestine correspondence? What would his opinions and sentiments be on such an unexpected occasion? How was he to account for my dissimulation towards himself? One who, from habit no less than attachment, would not have moved a step, or hazarded a single word, without making my intention known to him. I contrasted the error I had thus committed, exaggerated as it was by my fears, with the affecting affability of his last conversation, and which was only terminated by my arrest. When summoned to attend the officer, who had been dispatched to drag me away, I happened to be walking with the Emperor in the garden: he was more cheerful, and seemed in much better spirits than usual. Some oranges, which are very scarce in St. He-

lena, had just been sent to him by a lady, the wife of a gallant and distinguished naval officer. From his being extremely partial to this fruit, the servant was directed to bring them to the spot, in which we then stood. Here, leaning with his back against a tree, he occupied himself in peeling some, after which I was destined to have my portion, and the Emperor even insisted, that I should put one into my pocket. It was at the close of such an interview, that the disgraceful manner in which I was treated by Sir Hudson Lowe might well have induced him to suppose, there was something very inexplicable in my conduct: judging from appearances, he was even justified in reproaching me, and of doubting my fidelity. This painful reflection afflicted me more than I can describe, and evidently preyed on my health. Fortunately, the Governor came soon after to restore my tranquillity. Having opened the conference with a long preamble, he proceeded to say, that he had just received a letter for me: that

what had recently occurred gave him the right to withhold it; but, knowing how dear the hand which wrote it was to me, and the high value I set upon the sentiments it traced, he would produce the letter, notwithstanding the strong personal reasons he had to pursue a contrary course. It was from the Emperor; and although he merely showed me a few detached extracts, they drew tears from me in the perusal. When your Highness has read this consoling testimony, of which a copy is annexed*, you will readily con-

* The original of this letter was detained by Sir Hudson Lowe, and put under a seal with the rest of my papers; nor would he permit me to see any more of its contents than the following passages.

My dear Count de Las Cases;

Most heartily do I sympathise in your sufferings. Torn from my presence more than a fortnight ago, you have been closely confined ever since, without my being able to communicate with or hear from you; prevented from holding intercourse with any one, either French or English, and even debarred the services of your own domestic.

Your conduct at St. Helena has been like your life,

ceive what I felt on reading them! Had I suffered a thousand deaths for him, they

honourable and without reproach: it affords me happiness to tell you so.

The letter addressed by you to your friend in London was both simple and natural, resembling eight or ten of the same description, in which your noble and generous heart had been already opened.

(*Half the Letter is wanting here.*)

Your society was necessary to me: you alone could read, speak, and understand English. How many nights have you not sat up and watched during my various illnesses. Yet I entreat, nay even order you, if necessary, to require the Commander of this island to send you back to Europe: he cannot refuse your demand inasmuch as he has no power over you, except by the voluntary act you have signed. It will be a great consolation for me to know, that you are on your way to more fortunate countries.

Arrived in Europe, whether you go to England or return to your own country, endeavour to forget the evils they have made you suffer here; boast of the fidelity you have shown, and of all the affection I feel towards you.

Should you see my wife and son, embrace them for me. It is two years since I have heard of them, either directly or indirectly.

(*Three or four lines are wanting here.*)

At all events, console yourself, as well as my friends. It is true, I am in the power and exposed to the hatred of my enemies, who forget nothing that can tend to glut

would have been most amply requited by such a letter; and Sir Hudson Lowe is entitled to my warmest gratitude for the happiness he thus conferred on me.

One of the most gratifying reflections arising from the Emperor's letter was caused by my having been fortunate enough to anticipate an important part of its contents: "I desire, and if necessary even order you to quit this island," said he. Condemned to a species of solitary confinement, isolated from every friend, and with only my own judgment to consult, this was the very step I had resolved on, from the first day of my imprisonment.

their vengeance. They are, in fact, killing me by inches; but Providence is too just to permit such a system to proceed much longer. The insalubrity of this corroding climate, and the want of all that nourishes life, will doubtless put a prompt period to this existence.

(*Two or three lines are wanting here.*)

As every thing indicates, that you will not be permitted to come and see me before your departure, receive my embraces, the assurance of my esteem and friendship; may you be happy!

(Signed) NAPOLEON.

Longwood, Dec. 11, 1816.

During those feelings of irritation, which so naturally succeeded my arrest, I could not help exclaiming, "They have degraded me, and I can no longer afford any consolation to the Emperor: but I may be useful to him at a distance: I will therefore go to England, and address the Ministers of that country in his behalf. From the manner in which I have been treated, they cannot accuse me of premeditation; so that whatever I may say to them will be evidently the expression of my own sentiments. By drawing a faithful picture of our situation, they will perhaps be touched with some little compassion at the catalogue of sufferings I communicate: if so, they may be induced to ameliorate the fate of their illustrious victim. I can then return, and lay those consolations at his feet, which my own exertions alone shall have achieved."

Pursuant to the foregoing resolution, I told the Governor, that I would thenceforth disengage myself from all voluntary dependence on him, and demanded, that he would send me to England, for the

purpose of appealing to his Government. Entirely unprepared for the determination I had formed, it appeared greatly to embarrass him.

I should inform your Highness, that Sir Hudson Lowe is a man, who never thinks beyond the strict letter of his instructions, and has no fear except that of being blamed for swerving from it. But as my particular case had not been foreseen by those who drew them up, I told him, that this very circumstance left him a discretional power to act as he thought proper: that, as my infraction of the prescribed rules called for a decision of some kind or another on his part, sending me to England was not only excusable, but even became an act of duty: finally, that the dreadful state of my son's health, and precarious condition of my own, should also be taken into his consideration. After some hesitation, he replied, that the instructions did not provide for my case; and from a few other remarks it was evident, that the Governor began to perceive he had been attaching infinite importance

to a mere trifle; and however unwilling to confess the fact, I have no doubt but he at this moment really thought what I had done as not being sufficient to justify his depriving the Emperor of my services. He told me, however, that I should remain confined in the island till the return of answers from his Government. To this I replied, that he was no longer at liberty to enforce such an arbitrary arrangement; for in having withdrawn myself from his jurisdiction, and claimed the protection of the civil law, I ought either to be tried or liberated. Here was another difficulty: Sir Hudson Lowe could, according to his instructions, send me to the Cape of Good Hope, but he would not consent to give up my papers; and to separate me from them was not without its share of legal responsibility, even in his estimation. To remove all farther doubts, he therefore proposed my returning to Longwood, there to await the orders of a superior authority, and did every thing in his power to induce my compliance. As the Emperor's express desire would have alone led to my ac-

quiescing to such a proposal, I asked leave to ascertain what his wishes might be on the subject: to this the Governor agreed; but on his singular proposition, to dictate the form of my letter to Longwood, rather than submit to such a humiliation, I gave up the idea of writing altogether, finally returning to my first plan, and irrevocably insisting on *Judgment* or *Liberty*.

Not supposing that he could pursue the above system any longer, without some danger to himself, the Governor reconsidered his instructions, and, after three tedious weeks had elapsed, at length decided on executing the measure, which they prescribed the very day of my infraction, that of transporting me to the Cape of Good Hope. He did not, however, omit some farther efforts towards prevailing on me to return to Longwood. This seemed to be a favourite object, and not without good reason; for, if once accomplished, all difficulties would have been removed, particularly those, which he had created for himself; and after suffering

several weeks wretchedness and indignity, I should have left Sir Hudson Lowe perfect master of all the advantages he had gained. Such at least was my opinion on the subject; and this idea, together with my internal motives, could have alone given me courage to persist in the resolution I had formed; but they rendered it absolutely unchangeable.

The Governor took care to retard, as much as possible, the final ceremony, which was consequently put off to the last moment; I allude to the sealing of my papers: the manner in which it was subsequently performed is worth relating, as characteristic of the person with whom both the inhabitants of Longwood and myself had to deal. During one of Sir Hudson Lowe's last visits, he told me, in a tone of some embarrassment, though in excessively polite terms, that out of respect to the Emperor, and from motives of delicacy towards myself, he wished me to affix my own seal on the papers, which had been taken from my apartments, provided I would consent to his breaking it

during my absence, should that measure be thought necessary! On my smiling, not without some degree of contempt, and positive refusal to accede to this *conscientious* proposal, he strutted hastily round the room for some moments, and then suddenly turning round, as if he had gained a great victory over himself, cried, in a mock heroic strain, "Then if you won't do it, I'll take it upon myself; I'll get over it!" This interview was a prelude to my transportation, which took place immediately after.

Such, Sir, are most of the facts, which attended my late ill-fated adventure, and I trust your Highness will be pleased to excuse my having communicated them so much in detail. My best apology will, it is hoped, be found in your close relationship to the illustrious prisoner, from whose service I have been torn, and also in a perusal of the following letter, addressed to Sir Hudson Lowe, and which will, I have no doubt, excite your utmost sympathy. The above document, together with my first communication to your Highness, con-

tains an account of all that materially concerns the Emperor Napoleon, from the time of my joining him, until the disastrous period of my arrest, and final departure from St. Helena, thus completing the history of that melancholy epoch.

During the time I was in Sir Hudson Lowe's power, various interviews with him led to my making a hasty enumeration of our grievances at Longwood, which was always done at his own request: but the state of my son's health, and that of my own eyes, prevented it from being fairly transcribed: having requested the Governor to send us a copyist, no attention was made to my application; and I did not like to reiterate the demand, particularly as it was made for the purpose of presenting a statement of facts, that could not be very agreeable to himself, or reflect much honour on his character: on the other hand, as much of what I had said and written was unknown to my companions, though frequently expressed in their names, it was essential, that they should be fully acquainted with the statement, so as to

correct me if mistaken. When, therefore, I was about to leave the island, I proposed to Sir Hudson Lowe, that the manuscript, containing the grievances, should be sealed up, and consigned to a third party, in order that each individual concerned, might, if he pleased, take a copy of it: to this end, I looked around for some one whose integrity and character appeared most worthy of confidence, and the name of Major General Bingham, second in command, was the first that occurred to me, answering the above description. Obtaining the Governor's permission, it was accordingly sent to this officer, under the express condition, however, of its being communicated with equal impartiality, and at the same time, to Sir Hudson Lowe, and the prisoners at Longwood*. . . .

* With a singular contempt of truth, and total disregard to his *word of honour*, which had been pledged to Count de Las Cases and the Grand Marshal, Count Bertrand, to that effect, Sir Hudson Lowe never sent a copy of this document, or even caused the original to be shown, to a single inmate of Longwood. Having, however, taken care to make *himself* thoroughly acquainted with its contents, it gave rise to an artifice on the part of the Governor,

I send your Highness a copy of the above paper transcribed, and I do so without the least compunction on the score of delicacy, as, long before it can reach Eu-

which was by no means inconsistent with *his* character. He sent two letters to Count Bertrand, in which Count de Las Cases was accused of having confessed, that the French, in Napoleon's suite, had, by calumnies and misrepresentations, succeeded in poisoning the Emperor's mind against him, quoting, in support of this charge, some conversations *stated* to have passed between himself and the Count, together with the following extract from the above paper.—"He, the Emperor, had wavered a long time after we had on our parts severely expressed ourselves as to your conduct."—"I no longer see you through the veil of blood:" and that they had made the Emperor see every thing through a distorted medium. (Vide Grievances).

These were the *only parts* Sir Hudson Lowe ever communicated to the individuals confined at Longwood. It is in fact by means of such unworthy subterfuges, garbled extracts, and foul misrepresentations, that the British Ministers have suffered themselves to be deceived, while it has furnished them with the only excuse they can possibly make, for not instituting that inquiry into the transactions at St. Helena, which can alone wash away the stain a continuation of such a system is so pre-eminently calculated to impress on the national character.

rope, the Governor of St. Helena will have had abundant time to reply to it, and tell his own story. I have also annexed the whole of my correspondence with this officer, so as to afford your Highness an exact idea of various facts, which many of the public journals have doubtless not failed to disguise and misrepresent, according to their usual practice*.

It is my painful duty to inform your Highness, that, when I left St. Helena, the Emperor's health and general situation became worse daily: you will perceive, by a part of my correspondence, that, in order to provide for his wants of the first necessity, he was reduced to the humiliating alternative of accepting four thousand Louis d'ors, which I had deposited in London.

In the statement of our grievances, your Highness will also see, that there is no minister of religion at Longwood; I well know, however, that, if in the Emperor's

* Vide Appendix.

power, he would have charged Cardinal Fesch to procure a clergyman, who, to his sacred functions, joined some knowledge of literature; and one, who, like us, could write under his dictation.

I request, that your Highness may be pleased to forward the letter, which I have done myself the honour of addressing to her Majesty Maria Louisa. I considered it as my bounden duty to consecrate the first moments that succeeded my departure from St. Helena, in preparing some account of the Emperor for her Majesty's perusal: need I assure your Highness, that my days are henceforth wholly devoted to him; or, that my utmost services will always belong to your august family? I can truly say they will, for I have contracted ties of sentiment and affection, which nothing in this world can sever. I hope soon to visit Europe; my stay at the Cape of Good Hope cannot be very long, for that, which the authorities at St. Helena did not consider themselves justified in adopting, notwithstanding their favourite system of placing people out of the pale of the laws,

will not surely be practised in any other point of the British dominions *.

With sentiments of the highest veneration and respect,

I have the honour to be
Your Highness's most humble
and devoted Servant,
(Signed) COUNT DE LAS CASES.

* The Count's anticipations on this head were cruelly disappointed, for he was not only detained a prisoner at the Cape (where Lord Charles Somerset, the Commander in Chief, seems to have lent himself to the machinations of his brother Governor at St. Helena, by a hearty co-operation in that officer's views) for *eight months*, but ultimately compelled to provide a passage for himself and son, *at his own expense*. They embarked on board a small trading brig, and after buffeting about for above *thirteen weeks*, intead of being allowed, on their arrival in an English port, to enjoy the repose so necessary to persons emaciated by disease and persecution, and exhausted by a long sea voyage, they were seized by *police officers*, employed by the *Ministers* of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent of *England*, stripped of all their papers, hurried out of the kingdom, and conveyed to Ostend, from whence an escort of gendarmerie, employed by the *paternal* King of the Netherlands, received them from the Right Honourable Lord Bathurst's myrmidons, by which the poor Count, and his suffering son, were conducted, "*au secret*," to Frankfort. Such is the conduct of *Legitimate Governments;* and such are the bless fruits of a *Holy Alliance in Europe!!!*

LETTER

TO

SIR HUDSON LOWE.

Letter from the Count de Las Cases to Sir Hudson Lowe, detailing the Grievances at Longwood, and referred to in the preceding Communication.

Closely confined at Balcombe Cottage, in sight of Longwood, Oct. 19, 1816.

SIR;

DURING the different meetings, to which the circumstances attendant on my personal arrest and detention have given rise, several observations relative to Longwood were interchanged, that have frequently recurred to my mind, since the periods at which they were expressed. You also often repeated, that we *were in error, and had determined to continue so;*

while I felt myself called upon to state, that the foregoing remark was precisely what we daily made with regard to yourself: but this did not prevent you from placing the most implicit confidence in your own opinion. On another occasion, you observed, that we had only to send in an account of our grievances, which you would forward to the Ministers, and willingly sanction the publication of all that might relate to yourself personally. To the above, I replied, that those letters of mine, which had passed through your hands, sufficiently answered the purpose: that the one addressed to Prince Lucien, which caused my imprisonment, was intended to be of this description; and yet you interdicted me from sending it, "*on account of the reflections it contained.*" Our sufferings being chiefly of a moral nature, no wonder they should have exercised the powers of thought, and called forth reflection.

These points, together with many others of the same kind, in order to be well understood, would have required much

greater development, and should have been the subject of a regular and tranquil conversation between us: but you never suffered this to take place, nor did I attempt to obtain it. I was however led to believe, from my own ideas as well as by several collateral circumstances, that you were not exactly aware of the relation in which you stood with respect to Longwood; and neither conceived nor suspected some parts of those wrongs to exist, which we were suffering at your hands. This, though it did not remove them in my eyes, would have at least done away with their most odious attribute, the evil intention.

Hence arose the determination to devote the leisure afforded by my confinement to making you more minutely acquainted with them; and my situation, and the time I have chosen, are both highly favourable to the pursuit. I shall write with perfect calmness, and totally devoid of passion. Nor will you have any reason to complain of that resentment, which might

have dictated my pen while at Longwood, and smarting under those evils, of which I am now merely going to complain. Moreover, the following remarks will only contain my personal opinion; and on this account they are more likely to evince that regard for truth, which I pledge myself to observe in putting them together. I even feel a species of interest in your fame on this occasion; for the constraint, disagreeable as it is, which you now exercise over me, does not prevent me from seeing through the attentions and respect which would fain conceal it. Above all things, Sir, I beg of you to read my Letter with coolness. Reflect that it professes to describe our grievances, which I call your wrongs towards us; and that I write them down here as in my Journal with the utmost frankness, as if they were not intended for your perusal.

Should any of my details happen to be incorrect, I beg to remind you of your having deprived me of all my papers, that I am far removed from official documents,

that I only write from memory, and shall always be ready to retract any error you *prove* me to have made.

To begin at the origin of things, and in as few words as possible: a great sovereign, who had reached the highest pinnacle of glory, abandoned by fortune and betrayed by men, having lost his throne and liberty, was thrown on a desolate rock in the midst of the Atlantic. All these events had accumulated with such rapidity, that they might be said to be accomplished, though not finally determined. Landed at St. Helena, we therefore anxiously waited the ultimate decision of our fate. This we did with the consolation which generally springs from the last stages of misfortune; a conviction that our situation could not become worse.

"Europe," said we, "has its eyes fixed upon this spot. The people will form a judgment on the conduct of their sovereigns. Every possible mark of attention and respect will, no doubt, be manifested towards us, in expiation of that, which they call the necessity of state po-

licy. Both the legislature and public opinion of England have at least signified as much, and the Ministers of that country, at once the depositaries of, and responsible for, its glory, cannot surely substitute their personal hatred and political animosities, if they possess a particle of moral principle, for the more noble and liberal sentiments of the public.

"An officer has arrived to take the command here (you, Sir, were the individual thus designated), who holds a distinguished rank in the army; and whose personal merit, it is said, has led to his advancement. A great part of his life has been passed in diplomatic missions, at the head quarters of the continental Sovereigns*; so that he must have, in their

* From the scanty biographical materials, that have been hitherto suffered to transpire relative to Sir Hudson Lowe, neither his family nor birth place is very well known: it is however generally supposed, that no part of the United Kingdom can boast of the latter honour, which report attributes to one of our foreign garrisons: but these are points of comparative insignificance, although destined probably ere long to see the light. The more important part of Sir Hudson's history is less involved in

presence, become familiarised with the name, power, and qualities of the Em-

obscurity. During the late contest between this country and France, he commanded a corps called the CORSICAN RANGERS, but composed of prisoners, of every country then at war with Great Britain, who thought proper to break through their allegiance, and enlist into the English service. Having also had the distinguished honour of collecting the chief part of those, who composed his regiment, Sir Hudson is said to have acquired considerable notoriety as a disciplinarian. He served nearly three years at Capri with his regiment, and was, during that time, in addition to his military duties, occupied in superintending and carrying on the system of *espionage*, established by old Caroline and the British authorities at Messina, over the kingdom of Naples. How well Sir Hudson Lowe fulfilled the duties of this honourable office, and how essentially he promoted the interests of his worthy employers, may be easily conceived from the following well authenticated facts.

The three principal spies, employed by Sir Hudson to watch the movements at Naples, and convey despatches to and from that city, were also in the pay and confidence of the Neapolitan Minister of Police, Salicetti, to whose office all letters or papers, sent over by Sir Hudson, were regularly taken, and, after being carefully examined, as regularly replied to, under the dictation of M. Salicetti! Such was the nature of that intelligence, to obtain which a garrison of fifteen hundred men, with Sir Hudson Lowe at their head as Governor, attended by a squadron of men

peror Napoleon. He cannot be ignorant of his public and private relations with

of war and flotilla of gun boats, not forgetting many thousands paid in the way of secret service money, was kept at the above most useless island, until, fortunately for us, it was attacked by one of Murat's Generals; and, though supposed to be inferior in strength only to Gibraltar or Malta, capitulated in a few days to the enemy. This event, so unlooked for by the commanders of our land and naval forces, was by no means so to those, who were acquainted with the *source* from whence Sir Hudson Lowe obtained his information. Why an inquiry into the loss of Capri was not instituted, afterwards, must be explained by those, who were entrusted with our Mediterranean interests in those memorable days.

Having been subsequently stationed in one of the Ionian Islands, Sir Hudson succeeded in procuring an appointment on the staff, when Lord William Bentinck assumed the command of our army in Sicily; and by a still more fortunate combination of circumstances, he became British military agent with the Prussian army under Marshal Blucher. Here he distinguished himself by the clearness and perspicuity of the despatches, sent by him, detailing the operations of that General in 1814; but self-evidently penned by *a very different hand* to that employed in composing the official documents issued at St. Helena. This is not the place to discuss the veracity of some of the above despatches. His next nomination was to the Government of St. Helena, where he landed in 1816. How Lieutenant General Sir Hudson

those monarchs, who had for many years hailed him by the title of BROTHER, been his friends, allies, and even become his relatives.

"He must know, that, at Chatillon, it depended on the will of Napoleon alone, to continue his reign over the French people, even with the consent of England; that, at a still later period, he might have also reserved dominion over some other countries. This man," said we, "coming, as he does, from the very focus of diplomacy, will surely have learnt to form correct notions of men and things. He doubtless sees, that the fruit is gathered from that mass of calumnies and libels, which fear, blended with policy, had first created, and then contrived to instil into vulgar minds. Under such persuasions, he would not accept a mission, that is not in harmony with his general modes of thinking; or whose object is not that of

Lowe has acquitted himself there, or supported the honour of England, and what are his claims to confidence or esteem, it is left for the candid public and impartial posterity (for even *he* has claims to immortality) to decide.

ameliorating our present condition. Therefore, his mere arrival augurs sufficiently in favour of his instructions with regard to us."

"Did you not tell me," asked the Emperor one day, "that he was at Champaubert and Montmirail? In that case we shall have exchanged shots with each other; this is, in my opinion, always an agreeable relation to stand in with a new acquaintance." Such were the feelings and sentiments with which we received Sir Hudson Lowe.

You arrived, Sir; and your first visit to Longwood took place at a most unseasonable hour*, one at which the Emperor had never received any person, without even sending an aid de camp to know when it would be most agreeable for him to see you: a formality, which you would not certainly have omitted towards any of your Ministers in England, or even an ordinary superior. And yet, who was the personage on whom you attempted to exercise this

* Nine in the morning.

breach of etiquette and common politeness at St. Helena? The Emperor refused to see you; so that it must be confessed, that this first essay was not very propitious. Such, however, were our prepossessions in your favour, that we flattered ourselves with imagining, your recent landing in the island might have induced some one to take advantage of the circumstance, by persuading you to commence your government with an act of rudeness.

Some days after, while going round the establishment at Longwood, you expatiated to one of the inmates on the beauty of a spot, which could only be one of desolation to us all: and, on some person observing there was no shade, which the Emperor considered as a great privation; "*Very well,*" said you, "*then trees shall be planted;*" a dreadful sentence, of which we felt the full force. Is it possible, Sir, that in thus trifling with the feelings of the exiled and unfortunate, you suspected all the barbarity of the wound such ill-timed irony was calculated to inflict?

You were also the bearer of an order for us to sign a declaration, stating, that our residence at St. Helena was voluntary, and that we should, moreover, freely submit to any restrictions which might be imposed on us. It was then secretly whispered about, I could not ascertain by whom*, or for what motive, that we were going to sign our exile for life. Yet you must have seen with what alacrity every one amongst us, from the first officer of the household to the lowest domestic, hastened to conform to the requisition. Returning some days after with the signature of the servants, you said it was necessary to assemble the whole, for the purpose of your addressing them; but first wished to obtain the Emperor's consent. I answered, that, having force on your side, you might do so; adding however, that it was perfectly useless to affect a degree of condescension, which could only

* By the staff officers of the Governor, intended, no doubt, to deter the French from any longer sharing the exile of their fallen master, through fear of its being *eternal.*

be regarded as an additional outrage. We had always been in the habit of considering the domestic circle of the Emperor as an inviolable sanctuary. If your Ministers had accorded twelve servants, that were not demanded from them, it was doubtless to form a private establishment. Was it fair or honourable to interfere with them afterwards, and thus step in between the Emperor and his valets? Could the grand mission of the new Governor have other duties besides those of superintending the external precincts of Longwood, and scrupulously respecting its interior habits and asylum? Was he justified in breaking in upon the circumscribed comforts of domestic life? Yet you, Sir, must see the whole of our servants, for the alleged purpose of verifying their respective determinations, without reflecting on the excessive injury such a measure was calculated to do to their superiors. If your regulations required the above guarantee, were there not numerous indirect means of procuring it?

From the foregoing specimen, it was

not difficult to perceive that a fixed plan had been adopted, henceforth to load us with outrage and humiliation. We no longer hesitated to say, that the British Ministers had sent us a gaoler. Need it be wondered at, if the certainty of this horrible fact gave rise to the most bitter reflections, while it destroyed every hope of improvement in our condition. Thus, then, the breach was made; and the hostile attitude, as well as ominous treatment, which marked all your future conduct towards us, gave a melancholy confirmation to our fears. It is needless to add, that the subsequent intercourse between you and the inhabitants of Longwood was not of the most agreeable nature.

You repeated to others, and even said so to ourselves, that we had formed very mistaken notions as to our situation. "What can he mean by that?" we asked each other. "How is it possible for us to be in error on this point? We were once at the Thuilleries, and commanded there: we are now on a desolate rock, and in chains! Is there any mistake in

making use of this language? Is it the easy facility of our manners that surprises him? Does he wish us to be more obsequious, or to have a larger share of pride? And why should not the latter be natural to us? What could be more simple than for it to increase with adversity? Is not our keeper the person, who is most likely to be mistaken and forget himself? Can he be ignorant, that it is with those in power that condescension is most becoming, or that its exercise both honours and elevates them? Does he not perceive, that his present glory ought to consist rather in satisfying than humbling us: that he deprives his name of a brilliant place in history: that, if he was authorized to be malignant, his malevolence ought only to be exerted on those who deserved it? Does he imagine, that the circumstances in which we are placed are of an ordinary description? The Emperor Napoleon has but just descended from his throne: a reverse has deprived him of that, which his talents had obtained. He has only lost power: all the august attributes of

his character remain. He is not less the object of a great people's choice: consecrated by religion, and sanctioned by victory; recognized by all the Sovereigns, some of whom he had established, while others were indebted to his clemency for their political existence; well may his actions be considered as wonderful, whose monuments cover a great part of Europe, as his name once filled it with admiration. His institutions and ideas were both imitated and applauded, while they have shone resplendent amongst his enemies. He has only lost his throne; these remain the same, and must always command the admiration of mankind. It is the Governor, therefore, who deceives himself, and not us that are mistaken, as he wishes to persuade the world."

It also recurred to us, that the little civility we experienced at your hands arose from our not manifesting more respect towards you, which led to your exulting in the means you possessed of vanquishing in a struggle of this kind: yet we were totally ignorant in what species of atten-

tions our omissions consisted, or the nature of those to which you aspired.

Things were in this state when a passenger of distinction arrived in the island*. You received her at Plantation House; and by way of rendering yourself somewhat more agreeable, as also to satisfy her curiosity, you wrote to Longwood for the purpose of inviting *General* BONAPARTE to come and meet your visitor at dinner. But did you reflect maturely on this step? or think the acceptance of your invitation possible? If so, did not the embarrassment it would have occasioned strike you? Would you have addressed your guest by the title of General, merely because it had become an insult? Where would you have placed him? And how was he to be treated? As a General of Division, or a General in Chief? I am bound to tell you, Sir, that the whole of the above transaction included a premeditated outrage on your part. And to whom was your note addressed? Probably to the

* It was the Countess of Loudon, then on her way to England, that led to Sir Hudson Lowe's insulting step on this occasion.

proudest heart in the universe. In translating your note for the Emperor's perusal, I became pale with surprise and indignation. His dignified calmness on the occasion induced me to hand it to the Grand Marshal, Count Bertrand, who asked him what answer should be sent? Upon which the Emperor coolly replied, "None." But, good Heavens! what must he not have felt inwardly at this moment? What did we not feel? And what feelings ought you not to have experienced? On reading this, perhaps, you may regret the experiment you made with so little success; and I dare say it will not be repeated.

Soon after the above attempt to degrade the Emperor, you began the system of vexation and annoyance, which was destined to affect the whole of his suite. A stranger came to see us at Longwood (for we had not been as yet placed under the pneumatic machine*, and excluded from

* This expression of the Count's, doubtless, alludes to the torturing ingenuity of those experiments, resorted to by some modern philosophers, who cannot illustrate their sublime theories without previously sacrificing a few inoffensive animals under the recipient of an air pump.

air, as well as external communication): this man, who was going to England, and told us that he would be back in five or six months, insisted that I should give him some commission to execute in London (it is needless to inform you, that every resource is wanting in this place); I therefore gave him my watch, not being able to get it repaired at St. Helena, my valet de chambre was also directed to give one of my shoes to him, as a pattern for some that I wished to get made in England. If I enter into such trifling details, the circumstances of our situation require it, and will, I trust, fully justify me. A few days afterwards, the person, who had thus undertaken to serve us, sent the two articles he had received back to me, accompanied by a note, in which he very politely excused himself for not following up his original offer, in consequence of your having positively interdicted him from doing so, unless I thought proper to send them through your hands, and made a formal request of what I wanted. The substance of this note was reiterated to me several times after, but I did not reply

to it, and would have much rather dispensed with a watch, or gone barefooted, all my life, than submit to terms proposed in such a way. I felt the unkindness of this act, and, like many others of a still more paltry description, smothered it in silence. What else can a man do, where there are no means of obtaining satisfaction? On the other hand, was it possible, without a breach of decorum, to send an old shoe to a Governor and General? Had I done so, it would certainly have been from a wish of adhering scrupulously to the strict letter of his regulations: but surely I owed some respect to myself on such an occasion. Would not such a step on my part have had all the appearance of a premeditated and personal affront? "Otherwise," said I, in reflecting on the circumstance, "Sir Hudson Lowe would have done me the honour of calling on me, in the course of his frequent visits to this place, and stated that he had heard accidentally of my having somewhat irregularly delivered the articles in question, and hastened to call for the purpose of authorizing their being forwarded according to

the established usage, as well as point out the regular mode of proceeding in such cases, and requesting that I would conform to it in future." Whatever my previous disposition might have been, I should have felt sensible of such an act of politeness, and been grateful: it would have, doubtless, created a great deal of embarrassment on my part, but I do not think you would ever have had any cause to complain of my conduct again in that respect; but it was destined to be otherwise. Besides, as I am extremely inimical to quarrels or litigation of any kind, and this affair was purely of a personal nature, I concealed it for a considerable time, until it was made known by an accidental circumstance; which event contributed not a little to increase our sufferings and annoyances at Longwood.

One of the Emperor's followers having hired a servant, you met the man some days after at our door, and immediately ordered him to be arrested*, almost on

* The Governor seized the unfortunate man with his own hands, thus doing perfect justice to himself, as no man could be better calculated to perform the office of a constable!

that very threshold which we had hitherto considered as sacred. Happily the Emperor was walking in rather a remote part of the grounds, for the mandate might have been executed under his own eyes. On hearing of the transaction, and when you were the subject of conversation, the Emperor exclaimed, "He has degraded the small space on which I am permitted to walk. Sir Hudson Lowe must surely be ignorant of our manners, and cannot be aware that all the gold of the Americas, or heaps of diamonds, would not compensate such injuries." You afterwards asserted, that you did not know of the man's being with any of us: that might be, and I am even willing to believe it. But this ignorance, your precipitation, the act itself, the nature of which was not thereby changed; did not all these sufficiently prove that total want of respect, which could not do otherwise than wound our feelings.

On another occasion, when the Countess Bertrand sent a note down to James Town, you got possession of it, and sending it back to the writer, accused her of violating the established regulations, at the same

time reminding us all, that for the future, *and as had always been the practice**, said you, we must abstain from all written communication with any person whatsoever on the island, except through the medium of yourself, and by sending our notes open to you. On this, we took care to reiterate, that no such rule had ever been practised, and even invoked the testimony of your own agents to prove the truth of our statement, which they fully confirmed; adding, that though it was completely in your power to enforce your wishes on this point, it should not be pretended that you were making no change in the regulation of your predecessors. You did not, however, persist the less in your assertion, and our only consolation

* Sir Hudson Lowe, at first, asserted, that such had invariably been the practice in his predecessor's time. Finding however, that this assertion was belied by the testimony of the principal officers, and others, upon the island, he endeavoured, some months afterwards, to shuffle it off by stating, "that it was true they had done so, but that it was only a *toleration*, and not a right." He subsequently seized and detained all the private letters, which the Count had received during Sir George Cockburn's administration, alledging as a pretext for such an illegal pro-

was to smile at the absurdity of a rule, that enabled us freely to see and converse with people, to whom we were prevented from writing, except through you! In this species of inconclusiveness, it was impossible not to discover your evident anxiety to annoy, and make us feel the full weight of authority, so that you will not be surprised at my informing you that such was the light in which we saw it.

Until the above period, visitors had been allowed to enter Longwood, with a pass from the Grand Marshal. This was a concession of mere courtesy, as those who commanded and regulated the police might at any time quietly prevent every one from approaching the above named officer, and thus annul his nominal prerogative. However, you suppressed it altogether; and in signing all future permis-

ceeding, "*that they had not passed through his medium;*" although they had been written and delivered to the Count *prior* to Sir Hudson Lowe's arrival at St. Helena. Amongst them were some from Brigadier General Sir George Bingham, Colonel Willis (the former Governor of the island), Colonel Skelton, Mr. Glover (secretary to Sir George Cockburn), and other equally *suspicious* characters!!

sions to visit Longwood, reserved to yourself, in a most offensive manner, according to our view of the subject, the privilege of showing your illustrious captive at your own good will and pleasure, and as a mere object of curiosity. You were informed, by letter, that, if matters were not restored to their former footing in this respect, the Emperor would resolve to see no one; and you were particularly requested to spare him from the importunities of those who came from yourself. What was your reply? "That you were much distressed to hear General Bonaparte had been importuned with any visit, and about to take the most prompt measures to prevent that inconvenience from being renewed." From this moment we were, in effect, almost entirely excluded from external communication. As might be naturally expected, we were shocked at the new arrangement, and above all, by the ironical way in which it was announced. Feeling that the measure was one of the utmost cruelty, no wonder if it excited a general burst of indignation from all those whom it was intended to seclude. But this was not to

be the end of our sufferings. Some of your agents*, or others, of whom I am ignorant, but whose zeal, doubtless, exceeded your intentions, caused it to be everywhere circulated, that the "*General* would no longer see any person, and had even complained of his having been importuned by several people." This report was current at the camp and in the town; but I undeceived three or four individuals, who were made to believe in its correctness†. Yet you are surprised, nay, offended, at certain doubts and jealousies entertained with regard to your conduct at Longwood. Now, Sir, will you, who so often repeated to me, that you loved to examine both sides of a question, be pleased to pass on our side, and pronounce your judgment on the foregoing facts?

Our horizon now became infinitely more

* The Adjutant-General, Sir Thomas Reade, and other confidential persons of the Governor's staff.

† Sir Hudson Lowe threatened to turn the Count off the island, for having presumed to give this explanation; and to make such a report, of those who had listened to it, to Lord Bathurst, as would materially injure their future prospects in life.

sombre, for we lost ground daily; terror seemed to have taken up her abode amongst us, and all withdrew insensibly from the spot, which had been, as it were, polluted by your maledictions; so that we marched with rapid strides towards absolute seclusion. The style of your notes was, however, far from inspiring such a belief: they appeared to have been very artfully composed: one, in particular, struck us as being extremely singular. Without being able to charge my memory with all the contents, I recollect that it related to some ill-treatment experienced by the Emperor, and contained several expressions of respect towards his person. This, contrasted with your former ones, attracted the attention of him, who you are still far from knowing; whose words are, perhaps, prompt, but who is always slow in condemning, though piercing in judgment. He had wavered for a long time after we, on our parts, severely expressed our sentiments as to your conduct. "The man is incomprehensible," he would say; "how excessively difficult it is to form an opinion of him! he might, certainly, commit a bad

action, and yet not be really ill-disposed: but in this instance, to act so rudely, and write with such civility; to strike with one hand, and caress with the other; this is both able and profound." Then came the fatal sentence: "SIR HUDSON LOWE MUST BE A*!" Had you been in the midst of us, and under similar circumstances, you would have, most unquestionably, acquiesced in its entire justice.

I now come to a subject, which involves a considerable share of delicacy: that of our disbursements at Longwood. It was one day signified to us, that, from above twenty thousand pounds, hitherto devoted to the above purpose, orders from a superior authority were about to bring it down to eight thousand pounds. That, if the Emperor liked to furnish you with the surplus, things would go on as they were; but, in default of this, considerable reductions became indispensable. The Emperor had no money, and he was interdicted from

* It is left for the Reader to fill up this hiatus as he thinks proper.

any communication with Europe. However, you proceeded to make the reductions, although you were well known to consider the sum of eight thousand pounds absolutely insufficient*. You told me, that you could take it upon yourself to add four thousand pounds, making, in all, twelve thousand pounds, and expressed great astonishment at our not showing some gratitude for this piece of condescension on your part. But I now tell you, Sir, a general feeling of indignation, and that carried to its utmost height, was the only sentiment to which your previous treatment of us could possibly give rise. If hatred and contempt was all that could be expected from persons thus treated, they were not less called for towards those who employed you, than yourself. What other sentiments could be entertained by captives, who, at that moment, experienced

* On the 17th of August, 1816, Sir Hudson Lowe wrote a letter to General Montholon, in which he stated his conviction of the total inadequacy of the above-mentioned sum, and concluded with demanding that twelve thousand pounds per annum should be paid by the Emperor himself.

the remembrance, and in all its bitterness, of the violated good faith, which followed the TERRIBLE HOSPITALITY OF THE BELLEROPHON! justly regarded by them all as an act of perfidy, which had insidiously stripped them of liberty and fortune; that, after having shut them up in the closest seclusion, was now bargaining about their subsistence, as if it had been the result of a mendicated favour, or solicited asylum! What could men feel, with whom it was attempted to discuss objects, which, in the midst of their deep misfortunes, were totally unworthy of a single consideration? Men, who, if loaded with such gifts, could only think of the paramount blessings of which they had been so inhumanly deprived. What could their feelings be, when it was deemed necessary to calculate the expense of three or four places, which it was said the Emperor might fill at his own table; that of a dinner, he was permitted to give once a week, and similar trifles? Ought not this contrast between the frigid calculations of a purveyor, and that tempest, which unavoidedly pervaded our passions, to have forcibly struck yourself, at

the idea of such details being obtruded upon him, who had so lately governed an empire and made kings? To suppose that he could patiently descend to hear them, is enough to make the blood boil within me. The recollection of the scenes, to which I am alluding, scarcely admits of my going on Here let me address myself to every noble and generous mind in the United Kingdom, nay, to the whole British nation, and the Regent, by whom it is represented. It is not you I accuse; I know, that you would yourselves become the severest judges, were all that happened at St. Helena made known to you. You would, doubtless, be indignant at seeing the national character thus compromised; and that where higher interests were to be considered, those delegated to serve you had disputed about a few pounds, where they were called upon to sustain the honour of their country! Is this the generosity, the pomp, and grandeur, of which you boast? Are these your sentiments; could these be your wishes? Is it thus that a great enemy, of twenty years, ought to be treated in your name? A man, who,

in the hour of adversity, had such a high opinion of your virtue, that he sought a refuge amongst you, in preference to addressing Sovereigns, one of whom was his declared friend, and the other a father-in-law? Was it the intention of your legislators, who so gravely discussed the subject, to establish such a mode of treatment? Or, while on that miserable rock, was Napoleon to be considered in the light of a Sovereign, or captive Prince? Did it appear to be the wish of your Ministers, who said, that, with the exception of liberty, every thing would be done to ameliorate his extraordinary situation? And yet, such has been the ignominious usage of him, for whom your public prints and gazettes had embarked a palace in frame, and many other splendid superfluities! Do not, therefore, be surprised if this august personage wished to avoid the mortification of listening to such ignoble details, and if, pointing to the camp of the fifty-third regiment, he should have cried, "Why don't they let me be at peace! If hungry, how easy will it not be to join those brave men, *they* will not spurn one

of the oldest soldiers of Europe." And when, immediately after our arrival, some other difficulties arose relative to the supplies for Longwood, he observed, "If I had not some females in my suite, the rations of a private soldier would satisfy me."

Returning from the above digression, which the state of my feelings so powerfully impelled me to make, I have next to observe, that you lost no time, after the notification already stated, to put the various reductions into effect; several necessary domestics were taken from us, and many important retrenchments made in the number of our eatables; these were carried so far, that, finding ourselves really in want of them, it became requisite to supply them from our own means. Upon this, the Emperor directed that his plate should be sold; which circumstance was made the source of new troubles and vexations to us: on one side, the Emperor's attendants complained loudly of being reduced to the painful necessity of destroying objects, which they had regarded as so many relics; while the numerous dif-

ficulties, started by yourself in the town, together with your very irrational complaints of our sending such articles for sale there, *without having previously demanded your permission*, on the other.

It was about this period, that another subject of unpleasantry arose, relative to some letters, which had arrived in the island, addressed to the prisoners at Longwood, and which, we were informed, you sent back to Europe, without acquainting us that such had been received, in consequence of their having reached you through a different channel to that of the Ministers. This report seemed greatly to affect you. It was totally unfounded, said you; at the same time assuring me you had never returned any letters in the manner thus stated. Having given me your word on this occasion, I am willing to believe it. But the mode of exonerating yourself from the allegation, by gravely asking us *when*, and what letters you had sent back? could not fail to excite a good deal of laughing at your expense, did our wretched situation admit of being cheerful.

Now that the event, so like many others, has passed away, except in the remembrance of those who witnessed it, is it necessary for me to inquire, who but the person through whose hands the said letters passed could have answered your very sagacious interrogatory?

If there was any doubt or uncertainty as to the truth of the above report, so little honourable to those, who gave rise to it, I have no hesitation in asserting, that you soon after retained a letter of mine for *thirty-five days*, which letter I found one morning on my desk, slipped in amongst some others which had just arrived. In this case you had, subsequently, candour enough to inform me, that it had been mislaid at Plantation House by mistake; but that you did not like to offer the circumstance as an excuse, lest, forsooth, YOUR WORD SHOULD BE CALLED IN QUESTION*! Nothing could be more plausible

* The particulars of this transaction are simply as follows: an open letter was brought out from England, addressed to the Count, by a Lieutenant of His Majesty's ship Newcastle: this he delivered to one of the Governor's

than the above reason: I, therefore, highly approved of it, and would have most probably acted in the same way myself, had I been in the place of Sir Hudson Lowe. But in merely judging of the *fact*, what was I to think? What would you have thought, Sir, had a similar case occurred to yourself? Another circumstance took place towards this period, some account of which may serve to give an idea of several things at once. After the accouchement of the Countess of Montholon, a young English ecclesiastic came to baptize her

staff, for the purpose of its being regularly forwarded by the latter; Sir Hudson Lowe thought proper, however, to detain it, and even asserted that he had sent it back again to England, owing to its not having reached St. Helena through the Secretary of State. Finding that the affair excited a considerable degree of public indignation, and, not improbably, somewhat ashamed of his conduct, he caused the said letter to be surreptitiously conveyed to Count de Las Cases THIRTY-FIVE DAYS afterwards. Availing himself of another vessel's arrival from Europe, with despatches and letters for Longwood, the letter in question was slipped in amongst those just received, with the evident intention, as the Reader may well suppose, of its being considered one of the same set!

infant: having retained him to breakfast at the public table of Longwood, religion became the subject of conversation; his countenance expressed the most ludicrous surprise, on hearing us regret that there was no clergyman attached to the establishment. Imbued with the vulgar prejudices, and numerous absurdities with which our enemies had long endeavoured to cover us, he doubtless fancied himself amongst a set of confirmed infidels; he even confessed, and appeared to believe, a story circulated at James Town, that a priest, who had offered to join us at Madeira, was not only scornfully rejected, but apostrophised by a variety of opprobrious epithets and gestures for his kindness. Our visitor was no less surprised at hearing how completely we were belied on this point, than on being told, that if such an offer of service was really made during our short stay at Madeira, this was the first time we heard of it. Profiting by the foregoing discourse, I requested the gentleman, after breakfast, to accompany me into my own room, where I naturally took occasion to

depict the moral and religious condition in which we found ourselves; for, independently of there being women and children at Longwood, the total want of devotional exercises was most sensibly felt by all the other attendants there. I may truly add, that we felt extremely desirous of remedying the evil, without, however, wishing to signalize our efforts in the pursuit, either by noise or ostentation. Having communicated these our opinions to the clergyman, I told him it was so perfectly in the way of his profession, that I hoped he would do every thing in his power to accomplish our wishes with the Governor. On mentioning your name, I could immediately see that he felt embarrassed, and afraid of committing himself. Be this as it may, such was the system of terror, which environed us, that I never heard another word on the subject. Is it possible, that this young man dared not execute such a harmless mission? Or, did you require in this case, as in so many others, that I should have addressed the request directly to yourself? If I did not

fulfil this ceremony, it arose from my having no wish to encounter the flippancy and ridicule which had always been excited by the subject amongst those, who, in scouting the idea of religion in others, seldom possess the smallest spark of it themselves. I was also apprehensive, that, in the event of acceding to our wishes, we should not have the privilege of choosing a spiritual adviser, whose calling requires him to be worthy of such unlimited confidence. A foreigner was, fortunately, not imposed on us, as, so far from being any consolation, it could only have impressed us with the idea of an additional inspector, and not improbably furnished yourself with another spy.

The tone of our respective notes had by this time become so warm, that you thought proper to interrupt their farther exchange, to escape what you called injuries, and not truths; but which might have been both one and the other. On telling us that the correspondence should cease, we took you at your word, and wrote no more. I admit your having afterwards

pretended, that we had put a wrong interpretation on your notice relative to this subject, but the dispute was purely of a verbal nature. The conditions, upon which you proposed to continue any written communications with Longwood, rendered an acquiescence on our part impracticable. You required, for example, that all future complaints, which might be addressed to yourself, or your Government, should be signed by the Emperor's own hand? How could you expect this act of degradation on his part? And to whom on Earth could Napoleon make any complaints? Where is there a tribunal to be found for him, if not in that of nations? The Emperor can now only offer up his complaints to God, and make his appeals to the world. Was it the fear of his complaints, that led to his being refused permission to address the Prince Regent of England, without first suffering his letter to be read? Delicacy would doubtless seem to repress this thought; and yet, what motives could there have been to prompt a measure equally injurious to the dignity of these

two great personages? What project could have been imputed to Napoleon on this occasion? I will disclose it to you. He wished, by means of this exalted channel, to embrace the only possible chance left to him, of procuring some intelligence of his wife and child. But even here, persecution must be resorted to, for the purpose of frustrating that, which was most laudable and tender in the feelings of a parent!

The interruption of all written correspondence had been preceded by that of verbal communication. After three or four audiences, the Emperor resolved not to see you again; so that we had no longer any means of making an application to you, and, in fact, fully participated our master's wish to see you no more. This had no effect, however, in diminishing the number of your accustomed visits; but whenever you appeared amongst us, every one shunned your approach, and hastily sought his circumscribed asylum, leaving you in triumphant possession of the ground which surrounded our prison,

and which might be called the undisputed scene of your victories!

It was while these events were going on, and in such a state of things, that a vessel arrived from Europe with despatches from your Government. After receiving these, you came to Longwood, accompanied by a numerous staff, and desired to see the Emperor, in order to make some communication of a particular nature to him. On observing the pomp, which marked your visit, and hearing the mode of expression used in demanding an interview, we had no doubt but the news you brought must have been of the most agreeable kind. Whether the Emperor thought otherwise, or that, in his estimation, the nature of those communications could have no effect but on him who was desirous of making them, he refused to see you. Some days after, he consented to receive one of your officers, and hear what you had to say. What did he communicate? Things the most disagreeable, expressed in a style the most ungracious! It was this news, then, cried all of us,

that Sir Hudson Lowe wished to deliver in person! What other construction could we put on your visit? And would you have thought differently if placed in our situation? The above despatches, amongst other requisitions, directed, that our declarations should be renewed, and that we should sign the formula which had been presented at first. It was imagined, that something had been gained by impressing us with the fear of remaining always confined to the island. In this case, we became better known, and it would have been much easier to produce compliance by threatening to turn us all out of it. In effect, this was the alternative resorted to, by your presenting a paper, which was very repugnant to our feelings in its style of expression: it was, however, in vain to debate on the subject, the *sine qua non* was incessantly present to our minds. In case of refusal, we were all to be immediately sent to the Cape, thus leaving the beloved and sacred object of our prayers and our cares to perish alone, and descend alive into the tomb! we, therefore, determined

to sign the document without his knowledge, satisfied that he would by no means sanction such proceeding if previously informed of our intention. Our signatures were therefore given in the dead of night, after the Emperor had retired. Nor did we fail to congratulate ourselves on this triumph over all personal considerations. It was the triumph of faithful servants, who deceived their master for the purpose of being useful to him.

The new declaration was attended by fresh restrictions*. You very considerably diminished the extent of our former limits. A road, upon which the Emperor used to take a little horse exercise occasionally, was thenceforth denied him, on the plea, of his not being lately seen to make use of it. And you added, with a great deal of form, that if ever he felt disposed to renew his rides on this spot, and desired it, the military posts should be immediately re-established during the time he was out. "Here," said we, "is

* A copy of these Restrictions will be found in the Appendix.

another instance of our keeper's disposition to strike with one hand while he affects to soothe with the other; but surely he cannot suppose we are the dupes of such shallow artifices, or do not see through their premeditated cruelty?" To treat your illustrious captive so unfeelingly on this occasion, while you attempted, by subterfuges such as I have mentioned, to keep up appearances with your government, and public opinion, was worthy of him, who had recourse to them! On the other hand, you must have well known the impossibility of re-establishing the posts in question, just at the moment they might be wanted. And you were fully aware, that neither the Emperor, nor any of his attendants, would ever have asked you to replace them. The other restrictions consisted of various points, which were more or less unpleasant to each of us, who submitted to, or avoided their operation according to the circumstances in which we were placed. But one of these deserves to be particularly noticed; and, if told of

any other person but Sir Hudson Lowe, it might well be doubted. You said officially, "That, should the Emperor, in the course of his walks about Longwood, meet any persons not immediately attached to the establishment, his conversation with them ought not to exceed the limits prescribed by the common rules of politeness!" Here were restrictions with a vengeance! And to whom were they addressed? Our sentiments on this occasion were not those of indignation, for these had been exhausted for some time, giving place to others, which the candid and the liberal will have no difficulty in divining. From this time forward, it only remained for us to witness every new insult with a species of stupid indifference. But we could not help asking, if these restrictions were published in Europe? for we understood you made a mystery of them*. "Should they become known to

* It is probable, that Sir Hudson Lowe was himself ashamed of their contents, as he never communicated them to the orderly officer at Longwood, who was con-

the civilized world, and above all reach the ear of those Sovereigns, with whom you served in the field, what would their opinions be?" For our own parts, we endeavoured to stifle the recollection of them, taking all possible pains to prevent their reaching the august personage, who was the chief object of them, and had probably remained totally ignorant of their operation, until the moment to which I am alluding. In the mean time, the number of centinels were increased at every point, and took their stations nearer the house. Ditches were made and palisadoes thrown up all round the establishment; as also about the stables, which are not many yards from it. Two redoubts were mounted with cannon, &c., to which the soldiers and Indians, employed to prepare them, gave the appellations of Fort Hudson, and Fort Lowe. What was the result of all this? The Emperor, who had been disgusted from taking his

sequently incapable of giving to the prisoners any explanations or elucidation of the restrictions to which they had been subjected by the Governor.

usual exercise on horseback, and reduced to a few limited walks round the gardens or grounds, was constantly, and at almost every step, coming in contact with objects, which reminded him of his forlorn condition, while it conveyed an additional insult, at length determined to shut himself up in his room, where you will most probably ere long witness his death. For such was the opinion entertained by the faculty, several of whom asserted, that it would be the natural consequence of his being debarred from all exercise. When this was reported, you replied, that it was the Emperor's own wish, and you therefore felt yourself absolved from all blame. But if you qualify a seclusion thus forced upon any person, by calling it a desire to die, can you deny the fact of your having rendered the Emperor's life extremely insupportable? Yours, Sir, is a frightful responsibility, however lightly you may be induced to consider it! And were I disposed to dwell on the subject, you might be convinced, that (during your administration at least) the last moments of

such a man as Napoleon ought to inspire some fears, and excite a little tenderness even from Sir Hudson Lowe!

Having cursorily passed in review, the principal events to which I was an eye-witness at Longwood, let me now ask you, Sir, what could be the cause of all these rapid and severe aggravations? or of rendering our situation daily more wretched? The high and important portion of your duty, that of guarding the residence of the Emperor Napoleon in the island of St. Helena; is it not precisely the same as it was when he arrived here, and when you landed? Whence have sprung such cruel and barbarous changes? Has the danger of escape increased? Have its probabilities been multiplied? Have you discovered any plots? Has any correspondence been established? Have you found out some clue? or can you produce a single fact to justify so much cruelty? No! and, if your object in its adoption was merely that of combating all possible chances, which might occur, where was it to stop? For the Emperor's death could

alone embrace and prevent the whole! But it is notorious, and you will doubtless admit the fact, that ever since our arrival in the island, the first and *only* act you can bring forward to palliate your conduct is that for which I am now here, and in your hands.

You might probably have thought, that great discoveries would have followed my arrest; and yet you saw with what facility and calmness I anticipated all your wishes. I hastened, without the least hesitation, to open my most secret papers for your inspection; even to those, which contained my thoughts and actions day after day: you had therefore an ample opportunity of satisfying yourself as to the truth of my preceding assertion, that the circumstance alluded to is the first, and only one of the kind, which has taken place; and you must now be convinced, that this act, for which I have suffered every indignity that can degrade or mortify the best feelings of our nature, is absolutely unworthy of consideration, when viewed in the light of a crime! It there-

fore follows, at least we had a right to think so, and every impartial man will agree in the opinion, that characteristic bitterness, native irritability*, and personal hatred, stimulated all your measures, and not the stern necessity of your public duty. No one is less disposed to prejudge the conduct of others than myself; but I know, that our evil actions seldom escape the imputations of an internal monitor, which manifests itself to us, though hidden among the mysterious folds of the heart. Descend into your own, Sir: examine, analize it: perhaps the result may excite a little wonder. You are continually saying, that, in our relations with others, we only see the wrong side of a question; but that you are more impartial, more candid and just in your conclusions. People are rarely a good judge in their own cause. Need I add, that the impar-

* If, as some assert, Gibraltar had the honour of giving birth to Sir Hudson Lowe, this phrase is rather happily applied; for the proverbial appellation bestowed on the natives, no matter by what parents, is that of Rock Scorpions!

tiality and equity, of which you so confidently boast, is precisely that part of your character we are most inclined to doubt. You have, however, in this respect, a striking advantage over us. It is on our papers that your observations and replies are made. But in what does our means consist? And how truly embarrassed must not those, who had to decide between both parties, find themselves, when we come forth in all the naked simplicity of truth, while you remain wrapt up in mystery? What mode have we left, in this case, to avoid the consequence of your errors and improprieties? This reflection cannot fail to strike your Ministers, if they think at all, and are ever induced to have any regard for justice. It is unnecessary for me to impress its importance on the minds of those, who may on some future day be induced to advocate the cause of truth, and assert the honour of the nation, in the two great councils of your country.

The little we knew of your ideas and intentions were much more calculated to deceive than otherwise. Many of your

expressions, though perfectly just in principle, were totally inadmissible, when compared with your mode of putting them into practical effect. You told me, for example, that the security of the Emperor's person, and prevention of any communication with him, except by your own authority, being established, you were ready to adopt whatever might tend to ameliorate our situation. What can be more reasonable, said I. But no sooner had we entered into detail, and action, than you would evidently have been tempted to carry things much farther, if possible, than you did, in order to secure the above favourite objects.

Let us now inquire into that which relates more immediately to myself personally. And I have first to observe, that I seem to have attracted your attention, and excited your malevolence, above all the other attendants at Longwood. This was merited on my part. Probably the most tranquil in character, I manifested a greater degree of susceptibility from circumstances. I was the most ardent

amongst them, and felt not only full of, but proud of my situation. This feeling I dared to express with perfect freedom. You know all that I wrote and said in confirmation of the above sentiments, and without any evil intention, for I was incapable of cherishing it. My letters openly described and commented on all I saw, or thought; particularly whatever regarded you; which I did the less scrupulously from the conviction, that my communications were addressed to yourself. If capable of mystery or dissimulation, I should doubtless have been more circumspect. However, the letters displeased, and finally animated you against me, and they were interdicted by your insinuating, that, if I continued to write, I should be withdrawn from the service of the Emperor*.

* Whenever any complaints were made to, or through Sir Hudson Lowe of the restrictions imposed by him upon the French, he generally replied either by verbally menacing them with transportation from the Island to the Cape, or by enclosing to them extracts of a correspondence said by him to have been received from Lord

On seeing me send to Europe for various articles of the first necessity, you came to say, that such things were already in the island, having been sent out from England, and of which I was at liberty to make use; but I had resolved, that you should never have an opportunity of placing my name individually on your list of disbursements, or any other wherein it could be inserted under the head of a specific demand; I, therefore, rejected the offer, alleging that I was not in the habit of accepting any thing, while I possessed

Bathurst, containing threats of a similar nature. Sir Thomas Strange, one of the chief Judges of the Supreme Court in India, having arrived at St. Helena, on his return to England, expressed an anxious desire to see Napoleon, and signified his intention of waiting upon the Count, in order to request that honour. Count Bertrand declared, that, when he came to his house, he would be obliged to show him the sixth paragraph of Sir Hudson Lowe's own restrictions, in which he prohibited persons, who had received a pass to see General Bonaparte, from holding any communication with his attendants. When informed of this, Sir Hudson Lowe threatened to send the Count off the island, if he presumed to carry his intentions into effect.

resources of my own. This arose from a desire to preserve an entire freedom of sentiment, and not diminish it by contracting any ties of gratitude towards you. Some days after, I was informed by one of your messengers, that the Ministers should be complained to, concerning my so *contemptuously* refusing whatever you offered!

You complained of my conversation with those, who came to visit us, merely because it tended to remove, in their eyes, the absurd calumnies, and ridiculous assertions, which had been so studiously circulated relative to the illustrious exile. I stated many things to them, of which they had till then been totally ignorant, but which, on being communicated, excited the utmost surprise. You reproached me for so zealously propagating all that related to our sufferings, in order that it might reach Europe. In this case, I considered myself as one attacked by ruffians on a plain, and, no succour being nigh, had called on the birds of passage to become the witnesses of his fate. Besides, was it an injury to

your country, or a violation of its laws, to disseminate the truth there? On the contrary, it was doing an essential act of service, that deserved a far different reward! The efforts made to annoy us on this account, your many rigid precautions against your own countrymen, could only, said we, tend to increase, while it justified, our thorough conviction, that you relied on the distance from Europe and your situation, to justify your arbitrary acts, in the eyes of the British Government. You had no other fear, but that of their being known to the public; if otherwise, why should you have shut us up so closely at Longwood? What other motive could there have been for opposing the visits, or obstructing the inquiry and conversation of your countrymen? Was it the fear of our making false reports to them, that influenced your conduct? If so, they should have been allowed to come and judge for themselves, and the facts would have undeceived them. In that case, instead of sympathizing in our griefs, they

would have pitied the weakness of thus exaggerating them.

When it was proposed to remove any one from the Emperor, you declared, that your choice would have fallen upon me, had you not thought that I was useful to him. In fact, your insinuations and remarks against me were manifested on every occasion; but I attached very little importance to this; for, when arrived at a certain point of suffering, the martyr no longer calculates the number or quality of his torments, and sometimes even courts them. To this state of mind I had come long before the period of my arrest. The moral and physical evils of my situation had reached their acme. I was, literally, not sheltered from the inclemency of the seasons in my apartment. If it rained, we were inundated; did the sun shine, we suffered from its most scorching rays. The sleeping room, allotted to myself and son, was scarcely large enough to contain two very small beds: these nearly touched each other; and those strangers, who saw

the chamber, did not hesitate to say, that we should have been infinitely better accommodated in one of the minor cells of Newgate. Was it not for the sacred motive, which has kept the soul in activity, my body would have infallibly perished long since. It was impossible, that you either could, or ought to be ignorant of our deplorable condition. If I abstained from addressing you on the subject, I only did that which was consonant to the dignity of misfortune. It was for you to apply a remedy of your own accord. "He ought to look after and take more care of me, from good as well as bad motives," said I, in speaking of your treatment; but the truth is, we are considered as objects of such reprobation, that any thing is too good for us. And yet, God forbid that I should call your attention to an august personage, so marvellously restored by the desire of a whole people, and who was only torn from his elevated station by the mistaken efforts of nations, and iniquitous ostracism of Kings. I only speak of those, who followed his steps to this place, begin-

ning with myself. What had I done to merit reproach? The victim of two great revolutions, invariably acting against my worldly interests, I lost my patrimony to support a monarch, who had fallen; sacrificed my family, fortune, and even liberty, to attend a monarch, that was established. And the Grand Marshal, that model of devotedness, and of every virtue, what could be said against him? or, indeed, any of the rest. Here I might proudly declare, that we are guilty of no crime, nor can the world rank us amongst the ordinary class of mankind. Professing the greatest and most noble of human virtues, may we not be said to offer a rare example of constancy to others? The recollection of our names will be for ever impressed on every generous heart. Are we not, even on this desolate shore, sustaining that very honour, which is the only safeguard of Kings? After the conduct we have shown, it can never be said, that there is no devotion, fidelity, or love, for a dethroned Sovereign, or unfortunate Prince. And, at all events, people will be forced to ac-

knowledge, that Napoleon Bonaparte knew how to create those virtues!!!

Having one of the inhabitants for my servant, he happened, by some means or other, to displease you, upon which you thought proper to remove him; this was all very natural; but you also wanted to replace him by one of your *own selection*: this I rejected, by telling your officer, that you might, in having recourse to the powerful means within your reach, fill my room with soldiers, but never could obtain my consent to such an act of violence; that, if I could not have a domestic of my own choice, I would make use of my own hands. However, you persisted, and the consequence was, that I remained without a servant. Yet, how very easily might you not have satisfied me on this occasion, in limiting my selection by a refusal, till I named one to whom you could have no objection. The man, who you had taken away, returned to Longwood some days after, and telling me, that he expected shortly to sail for England, begged to know in what way he could serve me. I

gave him two letters, which you are now fully aware contain nothing of the least importance. One consisted of a narrative, addressed to Prince Lucien Bonaparte, which had been originally destined for yourself; the other a communication of mere friendship. But no matter, your restrictions had been infringed upon; and, if I am here, it is beneath me to inquire, or ascertain, how far your rights over my personal liberty extended: if these have been exceeded, or arbitrarily exerted, the laws of your country will do me justice. I never attempt to diminish the degree of pain caused by a voluntary sacrifice, which produces its own punishment a hundred fold afterwards. Such was the case on finding it necessary to address you relative to the consequences of my arrest. "They have degraded me," said I; "it is impossible, that I can ever more afford any consolation to the Emperor. He must, in future, look upon me as an object of disgrace, that reminds him of the most painful occurrences. I will banish myself from Longwood; and when at a distance im-

plore permission to return. I hope to come by a road somewhat less dreary than that which takes me away. I shall withdraw myself from the voluntary subjection to which I have submitted with regard to the Governor. I wish to replace myself under the protection of the laws, and demand my liberty."

If, however, I disdained to consider the injury you had done in dragging me away from Longwood, I could not help feeling the effects of your violating the security of that unhappy sanctuary; particularly when I reflect, how easy it would have been for you to cite me before you at the seat of your government. I was always ready to obey any summons. By this you would have equally gained your end, without inflicting a deep and irreparable wound so wantonly. When once completely in your power (I am glad to acknowledge it), I was treated with a degree of attention, which I little expected: every day gave rise to some new amelioration, that was most unforeseen on my part. This was an enigma, which struck me most forcibly.

"Can it be the facility of my character?" I asked myself. Could I have been deceived at Longwood; or is it possible, that I can deceive myself here?" You did not, in fact, appear to be the same person. I no longer saw you, as I formerly did, through a sanguinary medium. But I have at length discovered the cause: it is, that I am on your own level here, for all is in harmony between us; while you were never so for an instant with the gigantic ladder of Longwood, of which you would either not see the greatness, or had determined to reduce rather than mount to arrive at the top. You traced a circle, that was by far too circumscribed, to enclose objects that extended beyond it on every part; and you mutilated them in all ways, so as to force their remaining within it: not succeeding, the failure produced irritation. Your conduct in this reminds me of him in the fable, who put too many travellers into his small bed, and then amputated all the limbs which extended beyond its limits!

You have spoken to me of some mistake

in our statements: I am about to explain it. Yes, Sir, I have discovered the *real error*, and now see the cause of all that has happened. Let me beg of you to meditate on it in your turn, and then say what is your own opinion on the subject? It is in vain for you to bring forward the letter of your instructions: such a plea can never hold good for an appointment at once so important and extraordinary as yours. It would make you appear unworthy of your mission, which is a great one, and cannot therefore be too much exalted by him, who is destined to fulfil its duties. How, therefore, can you possibly forego the dignity, which this admission must deprive you of? While occupied in the pursuit of glory, next to my own situation at Longwood, the first place I should have solicited from Fortune would have been that of Governor to this island, where I should have recognized all the importance and extent of my duty. It should have been strictly performed, and the security of my captive guaranteed; but beyond this, he should not have had a

single desire unsatisfied; his esteem would not have been sufficient for me, I should have made him my friend. If I approached his fetters, the recollection of fallen greatness would have induced me to do so with becoming respect. Such would have been my conduct in this high office; and it would not be all the instructions or mandates, which tyranny could invent or cruelty devise, that should induce me to adopt a contrary system. The lucrative emoluments of my situation, the honours which it might lead to, the confidence which it already ensured, would be as nothing, when put into competition with independence of mind, the applause of conscience, and the suffrage of public opinion.

On the other hand, what perils may you not figure to yourself in the future! You are doubtless much better versed in the history of your own country than I am; and I need not point out to you, how many chiefs and generals have become the victims of political changes, or the caprice of fortune, though previously employed on the most arduous and difficult

missions. If such a misfortune occurred to you, what innumerable reproaches would there not be made against you from this spot! Believe me, Sir, there is a possibility of preparing an abyss for yourself. You will reply to me, by citing the approbation of your conscience as a sufficient justification. This is doubtless one of the greatest consolations on earth; but it is only full and entire with God, and but too frequently insufficient with men. How many are there, who have, with the clearest conscience, been obliged to yield to the injustice of opinion! How many others have there not been degraded by the force of triumphant calumny! The bloody Jefferies, of detestable memory, was perhaps after all a brave man, executing the barbarous decrees of his fanatical employers to the *strict letter of the law!* Time, accident, misfortunes, envy, exaggeration, or the spirit of party, may do the rest. Thus it is that a man may be falsely represented in history. But what a dreadful inheritance! and who would expose himself to it, if there is any possibility of

avoiding such an evil? What, Sir, let me ask, could sustain you in this island, if a fatal struggle were to take place? There are now only two great parties in the civilised world*. Born in the midst of liberal ideas, I will not do you the injustice of saying they do not form some portion

* This assertion of the Count's will doubtless be disputed by the advocates of legitimacy and holy alliances; but it is no less true, or worthy the most serious consideration of that party, which has by a most strange and almost unaccountable fatality contrived to usurp the power, and influence the late destinies of Europe. But, thank Heaven, knowledge, so far from being impeded, continues to advance in proportion to the infamous arts by which the enemies of human nature are basely endeavouring to retard its progress. As Lord Bacon so emphatically observed nearly two centuries ago, "This KNOWLEDGE IS POWER;" and notwithstanding the protracted triumph of a corrupt and imbecile administration in this country, supported as it is by the absurd brawlings of mercenary orators and stale sophistries of a hireling press, or the degraded state of Germany, Prussia, Italy, Poland, and the Netherlands (for France will no longer be duped), there are some, and those not a few, who think the struggle pointed at by Count de Las Cases is not quite so remote as a certain noble lord, aided by his satellites, whether in or out of Parliament, so ineffectually labour to make them believe.

of your political creed. But by a strange fatality, you are at this moment merely an agent of the old, and I may add, exploded aristocracy of Europe. So that it will be totally impossible ever to appeal from that, to the public opinion, concerning a conduct, which it has been my painful duty to expose in the foregoing pages. Be assured, Sir, all those, who profess the liberal ideas, to which I have alluded, would declare against you, while it is extremely doubtful if the opposite party would not be the first to abandon you to your fate. I continued one of its members for many years, and only abjured it because it inculcated doctrines and maintained a system alike inimical to knowledge and to virtue; I may therefore be allowed to know its strength as well as its weaknesses, and most confidently assure you, that the moment it suits their convenience, the party in question will not hesitate to desert you.

Thus, Sir, have I frankly stated all the grievances and remarks, that have occurred to me, in contemplating the treatment

to which Napoleon and his followers have been exposed since your arrival at St. Helena. Though I have expressed myself with perfect freedom, the object of my communication is less to wound than instruct. I once more repeat, that if I am mistaken in any of the foregoing details, it has arisen from the want of my papers, and other official documents; so that the errors, if there be any, will at least be somewhat excusable with the candid and impartial. I have really thought and felt, that every line in my statement was strictly true, while writing it; and I trust, that you will have an equal regard to the interests of truth, should my letter ever reach you; for, notwithstanding an occasional severity of remark, my principal object in thus addressing you is to excite that spirit of inquiry and self-examination, which is sometimes followed by a disposition to repair the errors of the past, and, though late, a wish of proving to the world, that its good opinion is ever essential to character and happiness.

Most fervently do I hope, that the

perusal of this Letter may give rise to some useful reflections, and open a fairer prospect! It is while in this place that I have felt myself called upon to make you more particularly acquainted with the state in which I left the inhabitants of Longwood. Although no language could do justice to the reality, I can most truly assure you, that their existence had, previous to my arrest, become almost intolerable. Deprived of all external communication, literally in a species of solitary confinement, the hours were dragged on with the heaviness of lead: every thing, even to the air we breathed, was converted into a slow poison, and life itself became a weary burthen. The trial was too much for a mind possessing the smallest share of sensibility; and to crown all, we were condemned to see him, for whose sake alone we wished to live, gradually perishing! His mute smile and pallid cheek daily announced the arrival of that fatal period, when his final release should break our chains. But I will not proceed; the subject is too painful for my feelings!

Such, Sir, was the state of things when I was brought here: and were it possible to forget those sacred duties, which bind them to life, I should not be surprised if, following the example of many of the ancients, recourse should be had to a similar mode of relieving each other's woes by a violent remedy, and that you may some day hear of there being only a receptacle of inanimate corpses to guard at Longwood!

I will ask you, Sir, whether this deplorable condition, and these sufferings, are desired by your Prince, or required on the part of your Ministers? Were they contemplated by the act of your Legislature, which causes the Emperor's detention here? Can the British nation approve of them? If not, whence comes all the misery and wretchedness your arrival and subsequent measures have occasioned?

Whatever the result may be, the whole of our unhappy case will ere long be laid open to the world; and, much as the sad experience of the past is calculated to inspire a sentiment of despair, in implor-

ing the Most High to preserve and watch over the fate of my Emperor, I cannot persuade myself, that humanity and justice are entirely banished from the world; and while this flattering hope remains, I will not abandon the fond expectation of their being advocated by a British House of Commons*.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) THE COUNT DE LAS CASES.

* Although from the compound of meanness and hypocrisy manifested towards the inmates of Longwood, and proved by the foregoing details, there are abundant materials for the British Public and both Houses of Parliament to form their opinion, delicacy prevented the Count de Las Cases from reminding Sir Hudson Lowe, of the illegal misapplication of the wearing apparel, and other necessaries sent out to St. Helena for the express use of Napoleon and his suite. It is however a sacred duty, incumbent on those who are still interested for the national character of England, no less than the common rights of humanity, to inform the nation at large, that various articles of the furniture and other necessaries, which had been sent out from this country at the public expense for the residents at Longwood, not even excepting the shirts made for the personal wear of Napoleon, have been appropriated to the use of persons for whom they were never intended: who those persons were, it is left for

future inquiry to disclose. In a spirit of selfishness still more revolting, it should be recorded, that immediately after Sir Hudson Lowe's arrival in the island, the Emperor was deprived of the scanty supply of fresh butter, which until then had been sent to Longwood; the milk, from which it was produced, being thenceforward taken to Plantation House. The above facts, though perhaps trifling in themselves, nevertheless form the grounds of a most serious charge, and their publication will doubtless rouse the best feelings of the country, on seeing its honour thus tarnished by the subordinate agents of a Government, that should blush at the recollection of delegating power to such hands. Convinced, therefore, that an inquiry into the transactions at St. Helena can no longer be withheld, consistently with the respect due to our reputation for honour and justice in Europe, the writer calls upon Lord Bathurst and Mr. Goulburn to remove the foul stain thus cast upon it, by disproving his assertions, together with those of the Count de Las Cases, than whom, no man can have a greater right to demand reparation for the persecution and indignities he has experienced. In thus calling upon the above noble Lord and his coadjutor in the Lower House, as the two individuals who have been most occupied in giving currency to the multifarious misrepresentations from St. Helena, and defending the authors of them, the writer feels equally bound, for he speaks in the name of England, to require, that Sir Hudson Lowe will come forward, and also disprove the charges brought against him from so many quarters. Should he or his employers defer this most necessary act of duty, it is not all the meretricious ornament and frothy

declamation of their parliamentary speaking, on the one hand, or volumes of despatches, sent home by express, backed by false alarms and reports the most improbable, on the other, that will ever clear up our national character, or save those, who have thus dishonoured it, from the just indignation of their country and the execration of posterity!

APPENDIX.

OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE

BETWEEN

COUNT DE LAS CASES AND SIR HUDSON LOWE,

WHICH FOLLOWED THE

ARREST OF THE FORMER, OCTOBER 25, 1816.

No. I.

From Count de Las Cases to Sir Hudson Lowe.

Balcombe's Cottage, 30th Oct., 1816.

SIR;

HAVING, in consequence of a snare laid by my late servant, been arrested on the 25th instant, and forcibly removed to this place, when the whole of my papers were also seized, I am called upon to make some observations on an event, which is no less extraordinary than it was unexpected. If I have broken through the restrictions, to which I had previously subscribed, it should be recollected, that you did not confide either to my word or delicacy for their observance; in which case they would have

been held sacred. On the contrary, pains and penalties were attached to their violation. These were incurred by me, and you have taken care to inflict them according to your own will and pleasure, without any objection thereto having escaped from me. Thus far nothing could be more regular; but punishment has its limits; particularly where the crime is circumscribed. And what has mine been? Two letters have been delivered unknown to you. One contains an account of what has lately occurred concerning us, to Prince Lucien, and which was destined to pass through your own hands, had you not sent to say, that the continuation of my letters, and their style, would be the cause of your withdrawing me from the service of the Emperor. The second is a mere communication of friendship: yet, such is the circumstance, that has placed all my papers in your possession. You have seen the most secret of them; and such has been the facility with which I have seconded your researches in the examination, that I have unhesitatingly suffered you, on your own private word, to peruse what was only known to myself, consisting of crude and undigested materials, requiring numerous alterations; detached notes intended for future correction and revisal; in fact, the mere chaos

of my reflections. Wishing by this appeal to your candour to show, and I hope to have done so, that amongst the mass of documents you thus carefully looked over, there exists nothing whatever, that concerns the high and important part of your government. No plot, or intrigue; not a single idea, relative to the escape of Napoleon. It was impossible to find any, for none existed. We thought the thing impossible, and therefore did not talk of such an event. Not that I wish to defend myself from such a charge, for I would have most willingly aided in bringing it about, had there been any possibility of effecting it; and considered my life as a trifling sacrifice, when offered up to secure his liberation. In that case, I should have fallen a martyr to my devotedness, and thus lived in the hearts of the noble and generous. But I repeat, that no one amongst us believes escape possible, and it is therefore not thought of. As to the Emperor Napoleon, he still continues to cherish the same ideas and desire by which he was animated, upon his free and confiding embarkation on board the Bellerophon; that of endeavouring to seek tranquillity and retirement in the United States of America, or even England, under the protection of its laws.

After the foregoing declaration, it becomes my duty solemnly to protest, and formally oppose your future perusal, I might say of all my secret papers; but I will confine myself to that which is entitled my JOURNAL. I owe this measure to the great respect I feel towards the august personage, whose name is constantly recurring in its pages; and I also owe it to myself. I therefore demand one of two things, either, that, if you really believe these papers foreign to your grand object in seizing them, they shall be immediately restored; or that, if, after what you have read, you think that certain parts are of such a nature as to require their being placed under the eyes of your Ministers, I demand that the whole shall be sent to England, and that I may be permitted to accompany them. You are too deeply concerned in the contents of these documents, Sir, to avoid having recourse to one of the above alternatives. You cannot justly profit, any more than I am willing to admit, of this occasion to read that which touches yourself personally. Otherwise, to what unfavourable inductions will not this abuse of authority expose you, and how will it be possible to prevent the public from connecting the circumstance, with the trap which has been so artfully set for me, and the amazing

importance attached to what every unbiassed judge must regard as a mere trifle?

Arrived in England with these papers, I shall not fail to ask the Ministers, in their turn, calling on the public as witnesses, of what possible consequence could a paper, in which the conversation, words, and perhaps gestures of the Emperor Napoleon, had been daily noted, at random, and with all the negligence of extreme haste, be in the eyes of the law? I shall also be justified in asking them, whether I have not a right to the most inviolable secrecy on their part, with respect to the whole contents of papers, which, in merely containing crude memorandums, could scarcely be said to exist, and which, from their very inaccurate state in my own estimation, I might, with the utmost propriety, at any time, disavow; as indeed scarcely a day passed, in which I had not occasion, by the aid of farther conversations, to correct some errors that occurred during the preceding one? These mistakes were not only frequent, but inevitable, on the part of him who spoke, as well as the person that made notes, which he never expected to be called on to authenticate in that state. As to what concerns yourself, in these papers, if you have had so often to complain of the assertions and opinions they contain relative

to you, surely nothing can be more easy, than to point out where I am in error. You cannot confer a greater happiness than by enabling me to perform an act of justice: so that, having profited by your communications on this head, you must recognize the propriety of my intentions and general good faith, whatever opinion I may be induced to maintain afterwards.

Without pretending to anticipate the plan you intend to pursue with regard to my person, I am bound, from this moment forward, and as much as the circumstances of my situation admit, to withdraw myself from the voluntary subjection I had previously acknowledged towards you: for when I made that engagement, you informed me I was always at liberty to retract it. I have therefore henceforth to enter into the common class of inhabitants, who are totally exempted from military, and only subject to civil law. In claiming the protection of the ordinary tribunals, I do not implore their favour, but their impartiality and justice. I should hope, General, that you have too much respect for the laws, and too high a sense of natural justice, to require my observing, that you will become responsible for every violation of those laws in my person, whether committed directly or otherwise. Nor can I believe, that the letter

of your instructions, which enables you to retain me many months as a prisoner, either here or at the Cape of Good Hope, will shelter you from their infraction, though it should only be made in the spirit of the said instructions.

If I have not mistaken the tenor of your orders, the object of them, authorizing you to confine any of the individuals of Longwood a certain time without restoring them to liberty, is merely for the purpose of preventing the effects, which might be produced by those communications, that may have been made to that horrible abode. This end has been fully accomplished by the manner of my being dragged away, which rendered it impossible for me to take the least advantage of the moment; for the arrest took place without any previous notice whatever. Besides, when sent to England under a charge, and subjected to the laws, if found guilty, they fully provide against inconvenience, that they were enacted to prevent; and, if innocent, the ALIEN BILL will be in force against me, not to mention the voluntary submission made, before any of those arbitrary precautions which it may be thought proper to adopt against me.

Still ignorant of your intentions, I have already imposed the greatest possible sacrifice on

myself. I am only a few hundred paces from Longwood; and perhaps eternity separates me from it. A dreadful thought, which at once harasses and pursues me!——It is but a few days since, that the fear of being removed from the Emperor Napoleon would have led to the greatest concessions you could possibly require; but that period is past, and you cannot recal it. In seizing me almost under the Emperor's own eyes, I have been degraded, and can no longer be an object of any consolation to him. If at Longwood, I should only tend to remind him of the most painful events; yet the circumstance of being in his sight, and having an opportunity of showing my attachment, will ever be most dear to me. But when far away, perhaps some may be found to interest themselves in our unhappy destiny! Something even tells me, that I shall return, and by a more cheerful road than I depart, bringing back another, who will aid me in the pious and tender offices required for the preservation of the immortal victim, thus thrown upon a desolate rock, exposed to the inclemency of its seasons, sacrificed to bad faith and the inhumanity of men. You have spoken to me of your sufferings, General; adding, that we had no idea of their extent or severity. But we can each only feel or be acquainted with our

own; and I am therefore willing to believe, that you are not aware of the funeral crape, which is at this moment suspended over Longwood.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) COUNT DE LAS CASES.

P.S. If I have made a mistake, either as to the sense or in the citation of your official documents, I beg you to recollect, that ever since the day of my arrest, and removal from Longwood, I have been deprived of every paper; and I am particularly desirous of your furnishing me with a copy of your restrictions, together with another of the Act of Parliament by which the Emperor and his followers are confined here.

No. II.

From the same, to the same.

Balcombe's Cottage, Nov. 4, 1816.

SIR;

As a necessary sequel to my letter of the 30th ultimo, and as far as my present situation admits, or the laws authorize the request, I am induced, in order to secure their full and

entire protection, formally to demand and require, that you will be pleased to send me away from St. Helena, and restore me to liberty. Reiterating, in every respect, all the contents of the above mentioned letter,

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) COUNT DE LAS CASES.

No. III.

From the same, to the same.

Balcombe's Cottage, Nov. 6, 1816.

SIR;

In my letters of the 30th ultimo, and 4th instant, both of which related to my political situation, I should have considered it as unworthy of me to say a single word on my position in a domestic point of view; but now that, in consequence of having addressed those letters to you, I regard myself as amongst the number of ordinary inhabitants, like any other casual visitant, I have no hesitation in calling your attention to all the horrors of my private condition. You well know the dreadful state of my son's health, for the medical officers must

have reported on the subject; and ever since he witnessed the destruction of that sacred tie, which attached us to Longwood, his hopes, ideas, and wishes, have been turned towards Europe, so that to his disease have been added all the evils of anxiety and impatience. Such are the physical disabilities under which he labours. Those of a moral nature, to which they reduce myself, are still more oppressive; for I have not only to contend with the tenderest feelings of the heart, on one side, but suffer all that can agitate the mind on the other. I cannot view the frightful responsibility incurred by my bringing him here, and being the cause of his eventual retention, without a feeling of the utmost horror. What am I to say to a mother, who may be disappointed in the fond hope of seeing him once more? or how am I to account for his probable fate, to that crowd of idle and even indifferent inquirers, who are ever ready to condemn without proof, and judge where they ought to be silent? Were I disposed to speak of my own health, which is of little consequence, under such a wretched state of mind, the picture would not be much more favourable than that of my son's; for, added to excessive debility, the circumstance of

my being deprived of those avocations and pursuits, which produced an oblivion of personal considerations, I feel, that my body is fast yielding to the effects caused by eighteen months of trials, anxieties, and sorrow, such as it is difficult for the imagination to conceive. I am no longer in the service of him, for whom I felt so much pleasure in devoting every exertion I was capable of making; and yet am I not the less far removed from that portion of my family, whose absence has ever been so painful a source of reflection to me. Deprived of both these consolations, the thought of losing either would soon be sufficient to weigh me down. It is for you, Sir, to consider these facts, and to reflect on the consequences. Do not sacrifice two victims, but quickly send us to England, where science and convenience may effect a cure. This is the first and only request, of any kind, I have ever made, either of yourself or your predecessor; but the miserable state of my son's health overrules my stoicism, and will, I trust, excite a little humanity on your part. There are many motives to influence your decision, which will be found by referring to my letter of the 30th ultimo; and I shall, for the present, merely point out the precious oppor-

tunity, which this occasion affords, of proving your strict impartiality to the world, by sending even an adversary on to your Ministers.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) COUNT DE LAS CASES.

P. S. On being shut up here, you did me the honour of saying, it would only be for a few days. Dare I ask, whether it is still your intention to remove me somewhere else? In that case, hope will inspire me with a degree of courage, of which I stand greatly in need. I am opposite to Longwood, and as the distance is so trifling, it is constantly presented to my sight. This perpetual attraction, as perpetually resisted; this near neighbourhood, and immense distance; the eye constantly on the watch, without being able to distinguish any object, is indescribably irksome. Be assured, Sir, that the above is not mere declamation; for I can truly assert, that I feel much more acutely than it is possible for me to describe.

No. IV.

Note in answer to the preceding, from Sir Hudson Lowe.*

Plantation House, December 7, 1816.

The Governor has had the honour of receiving the letter, which Count de Las Cases addressed to him, and will reply more particularly to its contents in person.

The delay, in Count de Las Cases's continuance at the house he now occupies, has been

* Sir Hudson Lowe generally abstained from sending a written reply. His custom was to come and verbally discuss the subjects contained in the letters he received. Profiting by the Count's facility of disposition, the latter was frequently induced to expunge many words, that seemed to create some difficulty, or were not very agreeable to the Governor; after which he would retire, with a promise of speedily returning an elaborate answer. By confining himself to verbal communications, Sir Hudson Lowe was also enabled to deny, at a future interview, all such parts of his previous assertions, as did not appear, upon second consideration, suitable to his views. When reminded by the Count, that his answers differed in toto from what he had asserted at a previous interrogation, he was always prepared with a denial of the fact; generally appealing, in support of the veracity of his *last* assertion, to one of his staff: "I didn't say so, did I, Reade?" "Oh Lord, no Sir, that you didn't!"

purely accidental; the Governor is sensible of the inconveniency attending this circumstance, and will remove it as soon as possible. In the mean time, he begs Count de Las Cases to be assured, that he is very far from wishing to render the Count's situation worse in any respect; and that he does not, moreover, wish to keep the Count in a state of uncertainty a moment longer than the circumstances of the case seem to require.

No. V.

Letter from Count de Las Cases to Count Bertrand, sent open, through the Governor, and with his previous approbation.

Balcombe's Cottage, Dec. 6, 1816.

GRAND MARSHAL;

Torn from amongst you, left to myself, and deprived of all exterior communication, I have been obliged to decide from my own judgment and feelings. The result of which was officially communicated to the Governor, Sir Hudson Lowe, in a letter I addressed

to him on the 30th ultimo. In order to secure the small degree of liberty that is left me, I abstain from repeating a syllable of what I wrote on the above occasion, relying on the delicacy and decorum of superior authority, to show you the whole of my letter, if any part of it has ever been discussed or alluded to——

But I yield to my destiny!——————

It only remains for me to request, that you will lay the expression of my respect, fidelity, and attachment, at the feet of the Emperor. Though separated, my life is not the less at his entire disposal; nor shall I ever consider myself happy, while absent from his august person.

Considering the wretched state of penury in which you all are, I was most anxious to leave some of my wife's diamonds, composing a necklace, behind me, as the widow's mite! But how was I to make the offer? As to the four thousand Louis d'ors, which I have at my disposal in England, I have frequently offered them, and beg leave once more to renew the tender. My new position, whatever it may be, cannot influence the foregoing offer; and I shall henceforth be proud of my wants! Deign, once more, Grand Marshal, to impress the ex-

tent of my unalterable devotedness and affection on the mind of the Emperor.

And you, my esteemed companions of Longwood! may I hope to be honoured with your remembrance! Aware of your privations and sufferings, I bear away the painful recollection of them. While near, I was but of little use; at a distance, you will be convinced of my zeal and solicitude, if there is humanity enough to admit of its exertion. I embrace you all most tenderly, and request, Grand Marshal, that you will be pleased to add those sentiments of veneration and respect, with which

I shall ever remain, &c.

(Signed) COUNT DE LAS CASES.

P. S. This letter was intended for you some time ago, and written when I expected to leave you altogether. To day, in obtaining permission to forward it, the Governor informs me, that I must remain here till answers to his last despatches come from England. Thus, then, I shall continue some months at St. Helena; and Longwood will not exist for me! A new torment, upon which I had not calculated!

The Governor has, at the same time, allowed

all this bustle and violence. There is another point, which must always interfere most materially with the purity of your moral intention in the business, that is, the great interest which every one will conclude you to have in suppressing my Journal, a portion of which relates to yourself personally; and, in not sending me to England, you will confirm the opinion of those, who think you are afraid of suffering whatever transpires here to reach that country. You ought, in fact, to thank Heaven for the opportunity thus afforded you of proving the contrary; for I have presented you with the means of obviating every difficulty. This is, however, only interesting to you morally; and as regards public opinion, that which must naturally excite unfavourable conclusions, is the legal construction resulting from your proceedings, by which you propose to keep an individual in close confinement for several months, and until answers arrive from England; which individual, *having withdrawn himself from his voluntary subjection* to you, *formally demanded*, that he might be suffered to depart from the island.

You are at this moment exercising a most arbitrary act over me; am I not, therefore, fully justified, in calling upon you to observe

the laws; if I am not guilty, send me away; if I am, transfer me to a court of justice, and let me be judged. But, "I have papers," you will say. If these papers are foreign to my crime, return them; if, on the contrary, they are connected with it, send them to the tribunal at which I am tried. "But the papers in question are claimed by another," you will next say. If so, and you will be pleased to convince me of his wishes, I am prepared immediately to renounce them; or, should you inform the other claimant of my sentiments, he may perhaps give them up to me. The above is all I require, and surely nothing can be more reasonable: on the other hand, one of the great objects of this communication is to entreat, that you may be pleased to inform the Emperor of my deference and respect towards his wishes on the subject. As to writing to Longwood, relative to your proffered favour, of sanctioning my return there, I shall wait till I have the honour of seeing you again before I determine on any step of that kind.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) COUNT DE LAS CASES.

No. VII.

Letter from Sir Hudson Lowe to Count de Las Cases.

Plantation House, Dec. 20, 1816.

SIR;

In communicating to you the decision, contained in the enclosed paper, I beg leave at the same time to acquaint you, that I shall have no objection, as already verbally communicated to you, to your remaining on this island, if you should prefer remaining here to proceeding to the Cape of Good Hope, until I may receive instructions from the British Government respecting you.

I shall feel it necessary, however, in such case, to request a written declaration of your desire to me, to that effect, pledging yourself to the observance of the same Restrictions under which you have been hitherto permitted to reside here.

It will thus, Sir, remain entirely at your own option, to proceed to the Cape of Good Hope, or to remain here, with your papers under seal, until the instructions of Government may arrive.

I have the honour to be Sir, &c.

(Signed) H. LOWE,
Lieutenant General, and Governor.

DECLARATION.

The Governor having taken into full consideration all the circumstances in the case of Count Las Cases has adopted the following decision:—

Count Las Cases having committed a direct and premeditated violation of the rules established, by the authority of the British Government on this island, respecting General Bonaparte, by seducing the fidelity of an inhabitant of the island, so far as to render him the bearer, in a culpable and disguised manner, of secret and clandestine communications to Europe; and having thus broken through one of the indispensible conditions, on which he signed his voluntary declaration to be permitted to reside at St. Helena; has, in consequence thereof, been separated from the person of General Bonaparte; and, in conformity to the instructions of the British Government, will be embarked for the Cape of Good Hope.

Count Las Cases will be permitted to take with him all his effects and papers, with the exception of such of the latter as may relate to General Bonaparte since he has been under the authority of the British Government, and of such Correspondence as may not have

passed through the regular channel of British authorities.

Any papers of a disputed nature, will await here the directions of the British Government regarding them.

(Signed) H. LOWE,
Lieutenant General, and Governor.

Plantation House, Dec. 20, 1816.

No. VIII.

Letter from Count de Las Cases to Sir Hudson Lowe.

Balcombe's Cottage, Dec. 20, 1816.

SIR;

I have the honour of sending you my letter to Count Bertrand, relative to the verbal offer, which you have been pleased to make, of my returning to Longwood. If in my letter of the 18th I had the honour to observe, that I only waited your next visit, to address him, it arose from my wish to show you a rough draft of my letter, so as to prevent every future objection on your part, as to its style and manner. I send it to day, because I find myself pressed by the letter just received from yourself.

I have therefore the honour to acknowledge

the receipt of your communication dated on this day, as also of your decision relative to my transportation to the Cape of Good Hope. I request, Sir, that you will have the kindness, if only for form sake, to acknowledge the receipt of those I sent to you, dated the 30th ultimo, and on the 2d, 3d, 4th, and 18th of the present month, which also remain unanswered to this moment; and in which I formally withdrew myself from all voluntary subjection to you. I called upon you, as far as the law justified, to restore my personal liberty: I protested against being separated from my papers. I also made you acquainted with the deplorable state of my son's health, as well as that of my own; and I requested that you would immediately send me to England, there to be judged, if guilty, and for the benefit of my son's health; offering you beforehand all those guarantees which might be equivalent to my detention at the Cape; also observing, that here, and in such a peculiar case as mine, I doubted whether the letter of your instructions could shelter you from the construction put on the spirit of them, by a civil and impartial tribunal.

Whenever you may be pleased to let me know the wishes expressed at Longwood with regard

to me, I shall then hasten to communicate what I think on the subject, together with some observations on your decision. In cursorily looking over this document, I was not a little surprised on observing, that one whose delicacy could be so much shocked by the expression *disguised*, expunged in a former letter of my own, merely to please him, was not more circumspect than to adopt the word *seducing*, so falsely applied in the said decision. But no matter! neither this circumstance, nor any other, can ever induce me to regret having obeyed the impulse of truth and sincerity, in my dealings with all the world.

I have the honour, &c.

(Signed) THE COUNT DE LAS CASES.

P. S. May I be permitted once more to ask, whether you are still determined as to the change of residence, of which you have so frequently spoken. I shall say nothing more of the inconveniences already mentioned, and which, according to your own assertions to me, were so plainly seen by yourself during your visits here. I am only desirous of repeating the wretched condition of my son, whose disease increases to such an alarming degree as to re-

quire continued attentions. You told me, that our new dwelling would be nearer the road: we are so far out of it here, that nothing can be more inconvenient in many respects. There is also another point to which I am anxious to call your attention: my son is insensibly losing his power of writing, and the state of my own eyes will not admit of my doing so; would it not be possible to procure a copyist? having traced a few indistinct remarks upon some of our conversations; which cannot be forwarded to you, owing to my incapability of transcribing them.

No. IX.

Letter from the Count de Las Cases to the Grand Marshal, Count Bertrand, enclosed in the preceding.

Balcombe's Cottage, Dec. 20, 1816.

GRAND MARSHAL;

The Governor, Sir Hudson Lowe, has just made me the offer to return to Longwood. This was done in a very polite and pressing manner. But on my refusal, and observing, that I could not think of returning on any other terms, than by the express desire of

the Emperor, the Governor added, that he had every reason to believe the Emperor really wished for my return. Should this be the case, I need hardly tell you, that it shall be a peremptory law to me; and while my heart dilates at the circumstance, the determination I had made, to suffer an inexpressible privation in absenting myself, is thereby instantly removed.

Before the expression of this desire, which I look for with the utmost anxiety, reaches me, I shall consider myself extremely fortunate if enabled to acquaint you with the motives, which led to my refusal in the first instance. I trust, therefore, that the Governor will have the kindness to show you the various letters addressed to him by me, since the day of my arrest. These are dated on the 30th ultimo, 2nd, 4th, and 18th instant. He cannot have any objection to an act, which will be agreeable to us, and a matter of indifference to himself, as, in the event of my returning to Longwood, I can easily communicate the contents of those letters; and, if otherwise, you will still be made acquainted with them; but, in the end, this will be of little consequence; as we cannot correspond with each other, it would be impossible for either party to derive any positive advantage from their perusal. So that the only real satis-

faction resulting from it, would be found in the pleasure I should experience in letting you know what my feelings and sentiments have been on this trying occasion.

My gratitude would be excessive, and the Governor's generosity complete, were he to inform me, that this return could not be in any way prejudicial to my interests, or connected with his own, than which nothing can be more easy to him.

First. In assuring me that my return will in no respect change the nature or alter the effects of those answers, which may come from England, still less the demand I am repeating at this moment, to be sent there for the purpose of procuring medical assistance and change of air for my son, as well as for myself, he being in a most deplorable state, and getting worse every day.

Secondly. In declaring, that he neither wishes nor pretends to profit in any way whatsoever by the said return, to excuse or liberate himself from all those rights which the laws may have given me against him, for his various acts and decisions with regard to me since the 25th of November, the day of my arrest, till the moment of my return to Longwood.

All these considerations, much as they might

weigh with me under different circumstances, disappear at the least sign of the Emperor's implying, that I am once more at liberty to renew the happiness I have lost in being removed from his person. When liberated from my present confinement, I should have flown to Longwood; but the pleasure of such an event would have been confined to myself, as arising from my sentiments and attachment towards him*.

Believe me, &c.

(Signed) COUNT LAS CASES.

No. X.

Answer of Sir Hudson Lowe to the above.

Plantation House, Dec. 21, 1816.

SIR;

The letter and the decision inclosed in it, which I had the honour to transmit to you yesterday, I consider as a general reply to the various arguments contained in your communications to me. I beg leave, however, to add hereto a copy of the letter I addressed to Count

* This letter did not reach Count Bertrand, for reasons which will be found in No. XI, p. 141.

Bertrand, for communication to the persons of General Bonaparte's establishment, before their declarations were delivered. The restrictions it refers to, at the close of it, so far as relates to correspondence, you have already received a copy of.

It was, Sir, the state of your son's health and your own, and the increase of mental as well as bodily suffering, so strongly depicted in your letters of the 6th and 17th instant, that induced me to hasten myself to you in person, on the receipt of the last letter, to make the offer of your returning to Longwood, where medical attendance was always at hand, and where, whilst you resided, no complaint had been presented to me*.

* It is truly afflicting to be compelled to witness a British officer so high in rank descend to such misrepresentations upon so many occasions. The state of M. Emmanuel de Las Cases' complaint was so alarming as to produce an official representation to that effect from Mr. O'Meara (the Emperor's surgeon) to Sir Hudson Lowe, and a demand for other medical advice; in consequence of which Sir Hudson Lowe sent Mr. Baxter to Longwood (accompanied by the Admiral's surgeon), to hold a consultation upon his case. Mr. Baxter was also furnished by the Governor with a permanent pass, to enable him to enter Longwood at pleasure, for the purpose of ascertaining the state of the young gentleman's disease, upon whom several consultations were subsequently held, at which Mr. Baxter assisted.

A sentiment of attention to the person from whom you had been separated influenced also my offer on this occasion.

I cannot, however, consent to be the medium of any discussion or negociation whatever between you and Longwood regarding it. The only communication I can suffer is, to ascertain whether your presence back, on the footing attached to your farther residence on this island, as expressed in my letter of yesterday, is desired. A communication on this point, with a short summary of the question in general, is all I can undertake to forward.

The permission to return implies a free explanation on all points.

If you do not return I see only irritation and inconvenience as likely to result to all parties by making myself the channel of lengthened communications on the subject.

A great variety of personal and extraneous matter introduced, Sir, in your several letters does not appear to me to demand, either official acknowledgement or reply; and it is at the same time so blended with what may be considered as of an official nature, that one ought not to remain unanswered without the other.

To furnish such detailed replies requires more leisure than, amidst a variety of other occupations, I can conveniently bestow upon it. I am,

however, making comments on the whole of your communications, and shall transmit a copy of them to you when finished*. I may even in such case transmit them to Longwood. In the mean time, the decision I have communicated, and the letter which accompanied it, is an answer to all.

I return your letter for Count Bertrand, and have marked those parts of it which appear most exceptionable, as the least necessary to communicate to him.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Yours, &c.

(Signed) H. LOWE,
Lieutenant General, and Governor.

No. XI.

Letter from Count de Las Cases to Sir Hudson Lowe, in answer to the foregoing.

Balcombe's Cottage, Dec. 22, 1816.

SIR;

You have returned, having first made several alterations, the letter I wrote to Count

* From the above elegant specimen of the Lieutenant General's official composition, the reader will not regret to hear, that his *promised* comments were never received; as, in that case, they would, of course, have found a place in the present publication.

Bertrand, in consequence of the verbal offer you made me to return to Longwood. So that, according to your general practice here, the above offer was only sincere in appearance; for it must have been rendered null in the details, which would naturally attend its execution. However, I am by no means surprised at what has happened; and those reflections, which succeeded your departure, fully led me to expect that such would be the result. During your visit to this place, you had sincerity enough to say, that you did not wish to allow a combination of ideas to be established between the prisoners at Longwood and myself; as much as to say, in other words, that we knew each other's *real wishes*. Your reasons for this confession, and the feeling that prompted it, were no doubt very cogent. But, on my side, I had no right either to become the dupe of it, or lead those who felt interested for me into error. With all the advantages of your position between Count Bertrand and myself, I am not to communicate my sentiments to him, but what you think proper to dictate! Under such circumstances I shall abstain from addressing him, and consider your offer as never made, because its execution is impracticable. I shall therefore irrevocably adhere to the sentiments,

ideas, and decisions expressed in my letter of the 30th ultimo.

You are wrong, Sir, in conceiving that I asked for a reply to all the arguments and assertions contained in my letters. I respect your occupations, as well as the value of your time; and therefore only requested a simple acknowledgment of their having been received, and, all things considered, I do not think you had any reason to refuse the demand*.

You seem to be surprised at the wretched state of my son's health, and that of my own, and twice repeat your astonishment, that I did not complain to you of the above circumstance, while at Longwood. You ought to be informed, that my health was a secondary consideration at that place; besides, when suffering under the effects of indisposition, my complaints were made to the Doctor and not the Governor. You may very easily be informed on this subject by referring to our medical attendant. As to my son, I am much astonished, Sir, that no account of his condition has reached you, by the public reports on the subject, the many consultations to which it has given rise, or the perilous attacks he has experienced. Is it then

* This acknowledgment could never be obtained; there were many verbal promises, but no written answers.

so very extraordinary, that our present situation adds to our miseries, rendering our position continually worse? I now come to your decree relative to my transportation to the Cape of Good Hope. The expression *seducing*, made use of in that document, has excited great astonishment on my part, as already stated in my last letter to you; but it would be unworthy of me to dwell on, or discuss the incorrectness of a single word, yet it gave me considerable uneasiness, and I had reasons for believing, that *you*, above all others, would not have recourse to such a one*.

I also read in the same decision, that all my papers, which relate to the august personage, from whose presence I have been torn, will be retained; what other papers can I have? Is it therefore not a mere mockery to say, that I may take away the rest? Is not this another instance wherein something is offered, and nothing given?

You retain my journal, the true and only *ob-*

* This word was cancelled in the original decision, upon the express declaration of the Governor, that, in employing the word *seducing*, as he stated to the officers who were present, he only did so in order to conform to the letter of the law, it being far from his intention to employ any word that was disagreeable to the Count.

ject of so much violence; a depository that is still without any regular form, extremely incorrect, and, until now, unknown to every one except myself; a book in which I daily noted whatever I thought, saw, or heard. Can there be any paper more sacred or interesting to me than that; or will you say, as a pretext for keeping it, that the contents are not perfectly known to you? I freely allowed you to peruse it for above two hours, the book was open before you, aud there was no objection made to your referring to all the articles pointed out by the table of contents. Will you not be responsible, therefore, for the construction you have put on it, and the use it has been made of to injure me? Is it not likely, that you may one day or other be called upon to justify yourself, for the incorrect way in which you have no doubt represented it to your Ministers? You told me it was a *political journal*, adding, that I had no right, considering the situation in which I was placed, to keep a register of what the Emperor Napoleon said; above all, it was a great impropriety, according to your opinion, for me to have introduced copies of official documents into it; as if all that I read, saw, or heard, was not justifiable, or without inconvenience to the rest of the world, so long as the collection re-

mained a secret. Will it be credited, that such principles were imbibed in the midst of those liberal ideas, which are said to distinguish the British nation? Is it not more probable, that, in a doctrine like the above, people will recognize the odious maxims of a continental police? And what does this Journal contain? The sayings, words, and actions, of the august personage, who was the object of it, materials for his life, and, perhaps, some things not very agreeable to you. But who would have given it publicity? Was it not to be retouched? Could it not have been altered, or modified? Who would have prevented that? Besides, Sir, it is not all that has now occurred, that could ever at any future period induce me to say what I did not really think and feel convinced of, in any thing that might concern you.

Finally, your decree, dated December 20, declares, that I shall be separated from the prisoners of Longwood, and sent to the Cape of Good Hope. From the form and expression adopted, who would not have thought, that this decision was made in opposition to myself? Since you therein pronounce a judgment henceforth, and for some days past, foreign to the new cause which has been assigned. You remove a person, who withdrew himself three weeks ago from his

voluntary subjection to you, and who, above eighteen days back, formally requested to be sent off the island. Who could doubt all this in examining your decision? This document is accompanied by a letter, in which you bestow on me the privilege of submitting to your decree, or returning to Longwood; but, if I ceded to the fascination presented to me, I should leave you tranquil and triumphant master of my most secret papers; I should once more become your captive; be still exposed to the same examination and seizures. Lastly, I should be dragged away with the same ignominy, at your good will and pleasure!

No, Sir, I have no choice to make, and can only repeat what I have already said. "Fulfil the laws towards me. If I am guilty, let me be tried; if not, restore me to liberty. Should my papers have no connection with my conduct, return them; if you think them worthy of serious investigation, send them to your Ministers, and cause me to accompany them. Furthermore, both my own health, and particularly that of my son, imperiously require our being in the midst of those resources, which can alone re-establish us; I therefore implore you to send us to England."

Nothing could be more simple than the foregoing request; and yet how complicated has it not been made! It is in vain to cite your in-

structions as furnishing a cause of refusal. Those who prepared them could not possibly have foreseen a case like the present. Even your hesitation and wavering proves to me, that they are neither precise nor clear. At first, you wished to keep me closely confined in the island: once removed from Longwood, you did not consider it necessary to send me to the Cape of Good Hope. You now twist the letter of your instructions, to force an unnatural construction they were never intended to bear. But ought you not dread being responsible to your employers, for having misinterpreted their orders, and to me, for a violation of the laws in my person? Take care, Sir, that all these measures do not in the end prove to have been vexatious and arbitrary. I am as yet ignorant of what rights or assistance those laws can afford me; but I am reconciled to this ignorance from knowing, that they do exist, and watch over my interests*.

You will doubtless think yourself perfectly secure when I am once at the Cape, and separated from my papers, which you retain here. But should I become a captive in that new

* This is only one amongst many passages, in which the Count relies on the impartial justice of British law. It is sincerely to be hoped, that his confidence may not be abused in the end.

abode, the winds shall bring back an account of my situation, our complaints on the fresh torments you will have caused, and the bodily sufferings you will have augmented; for it is you, who will be the cause of my detention there, either by positive orders, or secret instructions to that effect. It is not legal to break a seal, except in the presence of those who are principally interested in what it conceals. Will you bring me back from the Cape to remove that which has been affixed to my papers? or do you intend to keep me there until an order arrives to send them to England? Where will all this lead to? Yet there was, and still remains, a method the most simple, by which every thing can be arranged. My natural inclination to settle all matters of a disputed character induced me to set every difficulty aside. If sent to England, I voluntarily offered to submit to any restrictions, which might be equivalent to a residence, or even close confinement at the Cape: a gratuitous offer, which, though not made, would not the less afford me all the benefit and force of the laws at this place. To the foregoing reasons I added another motive, still more pressing, that of my son's health as well as my own.

The fear of interfering, in the most trifling degree, with the letter of your instructions, seems

to have had more effect in your eyes, than the necessity and justice of ceding to their spirit, or obeying the impulses of humanity. But there is still time to retract, and conform to the terms I so earnestly solicit. I shall hope, that the above named sentiment may prevail, and thus make me your debtor. The double claim of the papers, from Longwood and myself, cannot be given as a sufficient difficulty to excuse your non-compliance in this case, as it will be naturally asked what steps you took to remove it? Do you wish me to write to Longwood on this subject? A few words will be quite enough to make us all agree.

Whatever you may think proper to determine on, and much as you feel disposed to increase my sufferings, be assured, that none can be compared to the misery of remaining on this cursed rock, while separated from the august personage who drew me to it. Every hour and minute I continue, under such circumstances, are as years to my unhappy and circumscribed existence; while they greatly tend to aggravate the wretched condition of my son. I therefore repeat, and shall do so incessantly during our detention, SEND US AWAY FROM THIS SCENE OF SUFFERING!

Receive the assurance, &c.

(Signed) COUNT DE LAS CASES.

No. XII.

Letter from the Count de Las Cases to Sir Hudson Lowe.

Balcombe's Cottage, Dec. 24, 1816.

SIR;

I take the liberty of sending two letters to you, one addressed to Dr. Baxter, and the other to Dr. O'Meara, and request the favour of your causing them to be forwarded to those gentlemen. My son suffered very much during the whole of last night; and was obliged to remain in this state without assistance or advice. It is now seven days since we have seen any medical man; and how could it be otherwise? Notwithstanding the personal interests they are kind enough to feel towards us, our remoteness and distance from the public road, precludes every hope of seeing them, except in a case of extreme necessity.

When not rendered indispensibly necessary, I have, I trust, proved my disinclination to trouble you with my complaints, or demands; but the present is a most urgent case, for we cannot be worse of, in point of a dwelling, as the excessive humidity of this place begins to affect both myself and son most sensibly: we have not even been

supplied with all that you intended for us, and there is no possibility of procuring any thing out here. Our departure being fixed, would it not be possible, since you find it necessary to keep us in close confinement, to shut us up in a room, no matter how small, at James' Town, where I shall be most happy to suffer any privation, so as we are not exposed to the effect of dampness. I would not, in fact, complain of any thing, were we near the means of assistance and medical advice: these do not always cure, but they tranquillize the mind, and I have great need of any thing that will enable me to support those inquietudes, which are constantly recurring to my mind.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) COUNT LAS CASES.

No. XIII.

Letter from the Count de Las Cases to Sir Hudson Lowe, when on the point of embarking.

James Town, St. Helena, Dec. 28, 1816.

SIR;

I depart, without having been able to communicate, in consequence of our incapa-

bility of transcribing them, some particulars, which even your own conversation seemed to provoke the committing to paper. As these remarks, relative to the mutual situation of Longwood, interest you personally, and are at the same time of a very delicate nature, I shall be sorry to possess such papers afterwards, without having made you frankly and fully acquainted with their contents.

In my letter of the 20th instant, I informed you of my embarrassment on this subject, begging you, at the same time, to procure me a copyist to remedy the evil complained of. You made no reply, and it was not for me to press you. But as it is important to satisfy myself on this head, and I wish my letter to bear the exact date and name of the place where it was written, I shall consign the manuscript, sealed up, to the Captain that conducts me hence, so that it may be delivered up to the first copyist we can get, and then reach you without delay*.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) COUNT DE LAS CASES.

* Instead of the plan proposed in this letter, it was mutually agreed between Sir Hudson Lowe and Count de Las Cases, and in presence of the Grand Marshal, that the sealed manuscript, entitled the GRIEVANCES OF LONGWOOD, should be put into the hands of General Bingham, in order that both the Governor and Grand Marshal might each have

No. XIV.

Declaration of Sir Hudson Lowe to the Count de Las Cases, relative to the latter's papers, at the moment of his departure from St. Helena to the Cape of Good Hope.

December 30, 1816.

In pursuance of what has been expressed in the Governor's decision in the case of Count Las Cases, a considerable number of papers has been kept back from him, on his departure from this island.

The Governor, whose particular duty it is to suffer no papers that have come from Longwood to leave this island without examination, has, however, hitherto, from motives of particular consideration, abstained from perusing the whole of those of Count Las Cases, and has resolved, that those, which have been kept back from him, with the general contents of which alone he has become acquainted, shall be put in two separate packages, and deposited in the island treasury, until he shall receive instructions from his Government regarding them.

Count Las Cases may affix his seal to each package; but with the full understanding, that it

a copy taken, while the original was to be returned to Count de Las Cases. The history of this nefarious transaction has been already detailed in the note, page 28.

is liable to be removed, either on the papers leaving the island, the answers from Government arriving, or any exigency of service requiring it*.

The *affixion* of his seal is, therefore, only a moral guarantee, presented to him by the Governor's consideration, for his own particular satisfaction, that the packages will not be opened, except on one of the urgent grounds above adverted to.

If Count Las Cases is not content to affix his seal under such circumstances, or declines giving his assent to the condition on which his seal is allowed to be affixed, the Governor, who can permit no sealed packages or papers, that have come from Longwood, to leave his possession unopened, will then only think it necessary to take such precautions as may insure to his own Government the knowledge of the measures he has taken for the security of those detained, until their orders arrive.

Count Las Cases having declined affixing his seal on the conditions above-mentioned, the papers, divided into two packages, were deposited in separate boxes, sealed with the government and island seals.

(Signed) H. LOWE.

* Any comment upon this proposition might well be considered as an insult to the Reader's understanding.

No. XV.

Letter from the Count de Las Cases to Sir Hudson Lowe.

Cape of Good Hope, Jan. 19, 1817.

SIR;

I have the honour to send you a voucher, received from Count Bertrand, for some bills of exchange which I gave the Count, and request the favour of your returning it to him.

This acknowledgment is altogether useless to me, and may be productive of inconvenience. There is not a single member of the Emperor Napoleon's family, who will not contend with each other to reimburse the amount of those bills, on my simple word. If necessary, those who have hearts, which feel as mine has, will hasten to collect millions for the miserable thousands for which I have had the happiness to procure so fortunate a disposal.

I understand the sources of my pleasures and interests too well, not to repeat the subject of my declaration, made before yourself and staff, when the above trifle was about to be transferred. To depose the paltry sum in question, at the ve-

nerated feet of my master, and esteem myself happy beyond all expression, if it was accepted, occupied the whole of my thoughts, and included all I wished, to the exclusion of every ulterior consideration.

You will not, therefore, Sir, I trust, omit to rectify any error in the copy you sent to England, from the present, as well as the *erroneous comments* with which it was no doubt accompanied. It was the observation made by you at the time, which, having recurred to my mind in more tranquil moments, determined me to adopt the present plan. It was, in fact, my original intention, as the Grand Marshal may recollect. If I did not express myself so clearly as I ought on the subject, it arose from the situation I was then placed in leaving much more to instinct than deliberate reflection.

I do not return the voucher entire, and could not part with the signature, for that was more precious in my estimation than the whole sum. You will have sufficiently observed, during the examination of my papers, the religious veneration I entertain towards all that comes from the hand which signed the above document.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) THE COUNT DE LAS CASES.

No. XVI.

Letter from the Count de Las Cases to Sir Hudson Lowe.

Cape of Good Hope, Jan. 19, 1817.

SIR;

I avail myself of the first opportunity, that offers, to renew those remonstrances, which I made previous to my departure from St. Helena, and which I now beg leave formally to repeat.

In the first place, I protest against the separation you have made between myself and papers, by retaining the latter at St. Helena, and transporting me to this place.

Secondly. I protest against your refusal to let me affix my own seal to the said papers, unless I should first agree to your taking it off when I was not present, and whenever you thought proper, which was tantamount to an absolute refusal, by rendering any precaution on my part altogether useless.

Thirdly. I protest against your breaking any seal, which you may have chosen to affix on my papers, reserving to myself all the advantages and rights which the laws afford me on the subject.

Fourthly. I have the honour to inform you, that I have just addressed his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, and his Ministers, to request, that my *historical collection* may be returned, untouched and entire, or that it may be at least brought before them, and, at all events, not opened when I am absent. I hasten to inform you of the above circumstance, for the purpose of creating a species of new responsibility on your part, and proving, that though you may receive a first order to open the papers in question, it will probably be followed by a second to abstain from doing so, in which case the seals will remain unbroken, except in a case of real urgency. At the same time, I solemnly declare, that the above *collection* is absolutely foreign to your great duties, and contains no information, allusion, or expressions, calculated to interfere with the inspection you are called upon to exercise.

At the moment of leaving St. Helena, and when you handed me your decision against the sealing of my own papers, you told me, that, if there had been more time, you would have written it in a different manner, and that the circumstance of my immediate departure was alone the cause of your delivering it in that state, although

it had been in contemplation for some days. I should be sorry to let it be supposed, that I would be capable of converting that, which you consider as an advantage for me, into a weapon against yourself. I am, therefore, from this moment, willing to annul the said decision, and shall adhere to any other you may be pleased to substitute, esteeming myself happy in being able to give you this new proof of my natural facility, and desire to obviate every difficulty.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) THE COUNT DE LAS CASES.

No. XVII.

Letter from the Count de Las Cases to Sir Hudson Lowe.

Cape of Good Hope, Feb. 1, 1817.

SIR;

I have the honour to send you some trifling articles for Longwood; you will divine the motives which have led to my taking this liberty, and they will be my best excuse.

From the same motives, I have made a point of remaining totally ignorant of what is sent, the whole having been procured by one of the Governor's staff, and finally expedited by the same means; so that all I know of the transaction is derived from having paid the bills which were presented to me on the occasion of their purchase. Will you, Sir, do me the favour of transferring these articles to Count Bertrand?

I am well aware of the little value set upon such commodities * at Longwood, but I have felt a pleasure in sending them, however awkward I know myself to be in a pursuit of this description.

I beg leave to apologize once more for giving you this trouble, and to assure you of the high consideration with which I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) THE COUNT DE LAS CASES.

* Wines, coffee, oil, eau de Cologne, &c.

No. XVIII.

Letter from Sir Hudson Lowe to the Count de Las Cases, in reply to the preceding one.

St Helena, March 8, 1817.

SIR;

I have had the honour to receive your letter of the 1st of February, inclosing one for General Bertrand, and another for General Gourgaud, and acquainting me of your having sent some articles for the use of the former.

I am sensible of the attention you have shown in the mode of procuring those articles, by applying to the authorities at the Cape of Good Hope to obtain them for you; at the same time, I cannot admit the necessity of your intervention to transmit any farther supplies here of the same kind, as it is quite sufficient for me to know what articles General Bonaparte and the officers of his suite stand most in need of, to take immediate steps for procuring them *; and as Government

* At this time the Governor had reduced the allowance of provisions, wines, &c. for Longwood, so much as to compel Napoleon to cause his plate to be broken up and sold, in order to provide money to purchase the actual necessaries of life, in which they expended daily eight or ten pounds sterling.

has established particular channels for obtaining them, from which, even in the case of a British subject, it is not allowed me to depart.

I shall communicate the contents of this letter to Count Bertrand, who will thus not feel disappointed at the non-arrival of the articles you have advised will be sent to him:

I have the honour to be, Sir, &c.

(Signed) H. LOWE,

Lieut. Gen. and Governor.

OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS

ILLUSTRATIVE OF

THE PRECEDING LETTERS.

A.

Restrictions made by Sir Hudson Lowe, and promulgated at Longwood, on the 9th of October 1816; but which he had already put in execution by different orders, ever since the month of August preceding, though he never communicated them to the English officers on duty there at any period.

Restrictions.	*Observations.*
Heads of some proposed Alterations in the Regulations hitherto established for the Persons under charge at Longwood.	
I. Longwood, with the road along the ridge,	I. The predecessor of Sir Hudson Lowe

Restrictions.	*Observations.*
by Hutsgate, to the signal-gun near the alarm-house, will be established as the limits.	had extended the line of the limits over the summits of the hills; but having perceived, a fortnight afterwards, that by altering the sentry posts a little, he should comprise within the precincts, the house and garden of the Secretary, General Brook, he hastened to make that improvement.
	These precincts presented a large surface. About eighty toises from the road is the garden of Torbitt, where there are eight or ten oaks, which afford some shade; there is a fountain, and some cool air. The new restriction, by allowing only the road, has substituted a mere line for this

Restrictions.	*Observations.*
	surface, and has excluded from the precinct, the Secretary's house and Torbitt's garden.
II. Sentries will designate the external boundary, as well as that beyond which no person can approach Longwood house and garden, without the Governor's permission.	II. By the first regulations, which formed our establishment in this country, and which the English Government approved, persons arrived at Longwood in the following manner: the Governor, the Admiral, the Colonel commanding the regiment and the camp, the two members of the Company's Council, and the Secretary-General, who constitute the three principal houses of the country, might pass the guard without any passport or authority whatever. The inhabitants must have a

Restrictions. *Observations.*

pass from the Governor; the naval men from the Admiral; the officers from their Colonel; and, lastly, the inhabitants, the naval men, and the officers, might all approach with a pass from Count Bertrand, when they were sent for by the Emperor. This arrangement, which subsisted for eight months, was attended with no inconvenience. By the present regulations, which have been in force since the month of August, but were only communicated by this article, we are kept secluded, without any intercourse with the inhabitants. They, and the military and naval officers, are alike repugnant at the idea of hav-

Restrictions. *Observations.*

ing to go to the Governor to ask permission to repair to Longwood; and be obliged to undergo an examination, as to what they are going to do there. Strangers, whether officers, or functionaries coming from India, and landing here, if desirous to see the Emperor, used to present themselves to Count Bertrand, who notified to them the day and hour. During their stay on the island, they were assimilated with the domesticated citizens; and, with a pass from Count Bertrand, could, whenever they chose, pay a visit to Longwood. This was the usage for eight months, and produced

Restrictions. *Observations.*

no inconvenience. If any strangers arrived, who were obnoxious to the Governor's suspicion, he could, in the first instance, forbid their landing, or prohibit their passing the first posts. In short, the Governor possessed daily, by the statement of the corps on guard, a report of the names of the persons who had come to Longwood. But afterwards, when all this was changed, in the month of August, the Governor attempted to impose on us the obligation of receiving those strangers whom he favoured, and on the day too which should suit him. This was the height of outrage. The

Restrictions.

III. The road to the left of Hutgate, and returning by Wood ridge to Longwood, never having been frequented by General Bonaparte, since the Governor's arrival, the posts, which observed it, will for the greater part be withdrawn. Should he however wish at any time to ride in that direction, by giving the orderly officer timely notice of it, he will meet with no impediment.

Observations.

Emperor was constrained to declare, that he would see no one; and thus he put an end to all these insults.

III. By the first observation it has been proved, that the precinct on this side had been reduced. Here it is much more reduced. It is a strange kind of reasoning on which to assume this authority, that the valley has not been frequented for six months. But indeed, for many months, Napoleon, constantly tormented by the vexations of the Commandant, has not gone out: besides, one part of the valley is not passable in the rainy season. It does not begin to be so until

Restrictions. *Observations.*

the month of January. In the other part of the valley, a camp had been formed. Yet Lord Bathurst says, in his Speech, "*that range was not reduced till it had been found that he had abused the confidence reposed in him, by tampering with the inhabitants.*" Here then he is in contradiction with Sir Hudson Lowe. The reservation of allowing a ride in this valley on timely notice is evidently illusory. The details of the execution of the regulations render that impossible. That promise neither could be, nor has been kept. In the loss of this precinct has been lost the possibility of

Restrictions.	*Observations.*
	going to Miss Mason's garden, where there are some large trees which afford shade. So that there is no longer a single point within the limits in which the French can take the air; or where there is a little shade, or a fountain. In the rest of the precinct sentries have been placed. By some misunderstandings of orders, or otherwise, a person is liable to be stopt; and this has happened several times to the French officers.
IV, If he is desirous to extend his ride in any other direction, an officer of the Governor's personal Staff will always (on being informed in sufficient time) be pre-	IV. This is useless: the Emperor will not go out so long as there exists a wish to subject him to a direct and public inspection. Besides, the officers of the Commandant's staff

Restrictions.	*Observations.*
pared to attend him, and, should time not admit, the orderly officer at Longwood.	have orders to make a report of all that the French might say in conversing with them. This therefore affords room and occasion for calumny. Several officers have refused to act such a shameful part, and have declared, that they were not spies to repeat conversations held with them in confidence while taking a walk.
The officer, who attends him, will be instructed not to approach towards him, unless so requested, nor to interfere in any respect with him during his ride, except so far as duty may require, on observing any departure from the established rules, when he will ride up, and respectfully inform him of it.	
V. The regulations already in force, for preventing communication with any persons without the Governor's permission, will be required to be strictly adhered to: it	V. Hitherto this extreme point of outrage had been forborne. The Emperor does not acknowledge, either in the English Government or in its agents, the right of imposing

Restrictions.	*Observations.*
is requested, therefore, General Bonaparte will abstain from entering any houses, or engaging in conversation with the persons he may meet (except so far as the ordinary salutations of politeness, with which every one will be instructed to treat him, may appear to require), unless in the presence of a British officer.	any thing upon him; they have no right over him but the right of force. But what is the object of this article? To insult the character of the detained persons, and to vilify them. To afford pretexts for quarrels with the sentries! Thus the precinct is morally destroyed, since no person is to be conversed with, and no house is to be entered. This is so extraordinary, as to compel a belief, to which some individuals are really inclined, that Sir Hudson Lowe is sometimes touched with mania.
VI. Persons, who with General Bonaparte's acquiescence, may at any time receive passes from the	VI. This is equally useless. No person has been received since the present Commandant overthrew all that had

Restrictions.

Governor to visit him, cannot use such passes to communicate with the other persons of his family, unless it is so specifically expressed in them.

VII. At sunset the garden enclosure round Longwood House will be regarded as the limits. Sentries will be placed round it at that hour, but will be posted in such a manner as not to incommode General Bonaparte with their personal observation of him, should he continue his walks in the garden after that time. They will be drawn round the house as heretofore during the

Observations.

been established by his predecessor. It thence results, that, if Napoleon were to receive a stranger, as none of his officers could present him, and none of his domestics could be in waiting, he must himself open the doors.

VII. During the great heats the only hour for walking is at sunset. In order not to be liable to meet with sentries, it will be necessary to return within doors by day-light; meantime it will have been impossible to go out while the sun is up, as the place is destitute of shade, water, verdure, and coolness. There is no going out in the evening, according to this new regula-

Restrictions.

night, and the limits will remain closed until the sentries are withdrawn entirely from the house and garden in the morning.

VIII. All letters for Longwood will be put up by the Governor under a sealed envelope, and the packet sent to the orderly officer, to be delivered sealed to any officer in attendance upon General Bonaparte, who will thus be assured the contents will have been

Observations.

tion. The Emperor cannot take any exercise on horseback. He is in a small ill-constructed habitation, very insufficient and extremely unhealthy; there is even a want of water. No occasion is let slip of showing him a want of attention. His constitution, though robust, is extremely weakened.

VIII. This does not regard the Emperor, who neither writes nor receives letters. Wherefore only one explanation need be asked. Will any delinquency be imputed to the officers, for what they may thus write in confidential letters to their relatives? Or when

Restrictions.	*Observations.*
made known to no other person than the Governor.	those, who read these letters, shall have satisfied themselves, that they contain nothing hostile to the safety of the state, and of its policy, will they forget them? so that these letters may never be the subject of conversations or of grievances! If the reverse be the case, all correspondence must be considered as prohibited. The seizure committed on the person of Count Las Cases sufficiently justifies these observations.
In the same manner, all letters from persons at Longwood must be delivered to the orderly officer, put up under an outer envelope, sealed, to the address of the Governor, which will insure, that no other person than himself will be acquainted with their contents.	
IX. No letters are to be received or sent, nor written communication of any kind pass or be made known, except in the above man-	IX. The object of this, as proved by the inquisitions exercised throughout the island, is, that the newspapers shall not inform the

Restrictions.

ner: nor can any correspondence be permitted within the island, except such communications as may be indispensable to make to the purveyor; the notes containing which must be delivered open, to the orderly officer, who will be charged to forward them.

The above alterations will take place from the 10th instant.

(Signed) H. LOWE.

St. Helena, 9th October, 1816.

Observations.

world of the criminal conduct pursued. They do themselves much harm to attain this end. The simpler course would have been so to conduct themselves as to have nothing to conceal. They went much farther in a letter dated the 1st July, 1816, addressed to Count Bertrand; they forbade even verbal communications with the inhabitants. This is a delirium of passion and hatred, or rather a manifest proof of madness. This regulation is a slight instance of all the vexations that form the daily occupation of the present commandant. Let Lord Bathurst now say, that Sir Hudson Lowe has made

Observations.

no restrictions, that the correspondence of ministry has been wholly to the advantage of the persons detained; that the sole object has been the security of the detention.

B.

Letter from the Right Honourable Lord Bathurst to Sir Hudson Lowe.

Letter.

Downing Street,
Jan. 1, 1818.

SIR;

I have received, and forward to the Earl of Liverpool the sealed packet inclosed in your despatch, which professes to contain the observations of General Bonaparte upon certain

Observations.

The storeship Barkworth cast anchor, on the 5th May, in the roads of St. Helena; and, on the 9th May, Sir Hudson Lowe sent to Count Bertrand, without any accompa-

Letter.

extracts from a report, which appeared in the Morning Chronicle, of a Speech, which I had occasion to deliver in the House of Lords, upon the subject of his treatment at St. Helena.

Although Count Bertrand's conduct gave you fair reason to infer, that the packet contained nothing upon which it could be necessary to require your observations or reply, and thereby induced you so far to deviate from your instructions as to transmit it unopened, yet, as it is found on perusal to contain a general complaint of your treatment of General Bonaparte, not only from the time of your arrival at

Observations.

nying letter, the subjoined extracts from Lord Bathurst's correspondence.

On the 17th October, 1817, Count Bertrand sent to Sir Hudson Lowe a sealed packet, addressed to Lord Liverpool: it contained Observations on the Speech, which Lord Bathurst delivered in Parliament on the 18th March, 1817. The packet was sent sealed, because Napoleon had added the following words: "I approve of these Observations; and I desire they may be laid before the Sovereign and the People of England." But, if Sir Hudson Lowe had insisted on the packet being opened, Count

Letter.

St. Helena to the latest period to which any thing I said could have referred, but continued, by a note at the close of it, up to the very day on which it was delivered to you, I consider it my duty, previous to my laying it before the Prince Regent, to transmit to you a copy by the first opportunity.

Had the General delivered the packet to you unsealed, as the regulations, he knew, required, for the purpose of being transmitted home, I should, by this time, most probably, have been enabled to lay the charges, with your answer, fully before the Prince Regent. The delay, which must now take place, has

Observations.

Bertrand would have broken the seal in his presence, and presented it to him open. It can be proved, that Sir Hudson Lowe made himself acquainted with the contents of the packet. There was no need to communicate these Observations to Sir Hudson Lowe, since they were made in answer to a Speech, publicly delivered by the Minister, in the month of March, 1817. The voluminous compositions of insults, calumnies, and outrages against the French at Longwood, which are conveyed by every courier from St. Helena to London, are not communicated to the French until the English Govern-

Letter.

been altogether occasioned by the disingenuous conduct, which has been practised upon you; and although it is difficult to understand what advantage General Bonaparte could have expected to derive from it, if his object had been the fair investigation of his case, it will, I am sure, in the event of any other sealed letters being sent to you for transmission, prove to you the expediency of not permitting any feeling of delicacy to interfere with the strict execution of your instructions.

I have the honour, &c.

(Signed) BATHURST.

Observations.

ment has deliberated on them. A communication made by a party interested is in itself unjust: if, therefore, these Observations have not been communicated to the Prince Regent, so much the worse for the British Government, for the English nation, its boasted constitution, which is now so much slighted, and for the liberty of its people: assuredly, the like would not have happened in Russia, Austria, or even in Constantinople.

It would be just, that the complaints of the French should be submitted unsealed to Sir Hudson Lowe, if Sir Hudson Lowe's complaints were communicated, previously to

Observations.

their departure from St. Helena, to one of the French officers, in order that the calumnies, misrepresentations, and falsehoods they contain might be pointed out.

C.

Letter from the Right Honourable Lord Bathurst to Sir Hudson Lowe.

Letter.

Colonial Office, Downing Street, Jan. 1, 1818.

SIR;

I have received, and laid before the Prince Regent, your despatch, No. 89, in which you transmit various communications, which have passed be-

Observations.

At length, after a lapse of two years, it is known in London, that the hours for walking during the summer season in this country are from five till seven in

Letter.

tween yourself and Count Bertrand, relative to the restrictions imposed upon General Bonaparte, and the possibility of admitting any farther relaxation.

From a review of the papers transmitted by you it appears, that the complaints advanced by General Bonaparte against the restrictions imposed upon him may be comprehended under two heads.

1st. He complains, that the contracted extent of the limits, within which he may take exercise, unaccompanied by a British officer, and the posting of sentinels round Longwood at sunset, debar him from taking exercise: and,

Observations.

the evening; consequently, the custom of stationing guards at six o'clock has been once more resorted to. Sir Hudson Lowe, without putting a stop to this practice, has given written orders to the guards to allow the French to pass till nine in the evening, and he every day gives verbal orders, that they shall not be permitted to pass after six in the evening. Sir Hudson Lowe pursues his old course. It would appear, that he has confidential instructions at variance with his public instructions.

Can it be supposed, that a prisoner of war, quartered in any town in England, France, Russia, or Austria,

Letter.

2dly. That his intercourse with the inhabitants is subject to your intervention, and his correspondence with them subject to your inspection.

As Count Bertrand has admitted, that the first head of objection has been obviated by your recent extension of his former limits for exercise, and by the other arrangements, which you considered yourself authorised to adopt, it is not necessary that I should advert particularly to that part of the discussion farther than to express my approbation of the relaxation, in this particular, to which you have, out of regard to the health of General

Observations.

would not be allowed to write to his banker, or his friend, or his wife, residing in the same town, without his letter being submitted to the inspection of the Governor of the province? This code is not that of nations, but of Lord Bathurst, who is quite unacquainted with military affairs. It is false, that this could have any influence on the means of escape, since the inhabitants may be spoken to without witnesses, there can be no danger in writing to them. The object of this measure is at variance with that which existed in 1815, and during the first half year of 1816; it is to vex and insult, by a thou-

Letter.

Bonaparte, been induced to accede.

Considering it, however, not improbable, that (notwithstanding the acquiescence of Count Bertrand in the existing arrangement, with respect to the sentries) the posting of them at sunset may again be brought forward as a cause of complaint, I deem it advisable to acquaint you, by this opportunity, that the utmost degree of indulgence, which can be consented to, would be to defer posting them till nine o'clock during the heat of the summer months; and that only under the condition, that General Bonaparte should at that hour be seen by the officer at

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sand ignoble and mean details. But Sir Hudson Lowe is no stranger to such acts: to inspect the dirty linen of the ladies at Longwood is with him a most important occupation.

Fifty individuals, consisting of the principal inhabitants of the island, and officers of rank in the army, may freely maintain communications with Longwood. This removes all difficulty with respect to the passes; but within a month from this day, the 2nd of June, this arrangement has not been observed, and Sir Hudson Lowe has caused the subjoined proclamation to be posted up. The Colonel of the 66th has received

Letter.

Longwood, with a view of ensuring his being in the house at the time the guards are stationed round it.

The second head of complaint, *viz.* the restriction imposed upon his intercourse and correspondence with the inhabitants, is one upon which there can be but little prospect of satisfying all the pretensions advanced by Count Bertrand. It cannot escape your observation, that these demands cannot be represented as interfering in any way with his taking exercise: his declaration, that he would not take any, unless they were conceded, was an attempt to abuse the interest you

Observations.

orders to direct such of his officers, who were accustomed, when they met the Countess Bertrand on the road, to stop and converse with her, to cease doing so, and even to avoid meeting her. In consequence of this order, several individuals have avoided passing along the road, though they have all manifested the utmost indignation at such conduct. During the month of April, the Emperor quitted his apartment four times, to spend half an hour under a little tree about thirty toises from his house. In May, Sir Hudson Lowe ordered a gardener, a private of the 66th, and a picquet sergeant of the arti-

Letter.

had taken in the preservation of his health. With respect to correspondence, I confess I see no practicable alternative, but that of adhering to the regulations already in force, or admitting an unrestrained communication between General Bonaparte and the inhabitants, on all subjects, and for all purposes. A permission to send and receive sealed letters, whether under colour of private business, or under any other pretence, is incompatible with the situation of a prisoner of war, and is liable to the greatest objections, as such a relaxation of the existing rules would, in effect, be to abandon one of the best securities against

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ficers to follow him, at some distance, and not to lose sight of him whenever he walked in his garden. The Emperor was thus forced to abstain even from this little exercise. The gardener and the sergeant of the artificers, instead of confining themselves to the orders they had received, assumed the functions of police officers, and stopped persons even under the windows of Longwood House. Such was the effect of the arrival of Lord Bathurst's dispatches, that, whilst they appeared to permit unrestrained communication with a circle of fifty individuals, the tyranny of Sir Hudson Lowe became two-

Letter.

a successful attempt at escape. You will, therefore, on this point, adhere to the instructions under which you have hitherto acted.

With respect to intercourse with the inhabitants, I see no material objection to the placing it upon the footing recently suggested by Count Bertrand, as it is one which he represents would be more consonant to General Bonaparte's wishes. The Count's proposition is, that a list of a given number of persons, resident in the island, should be made out, who shall be at once admitted to Longwood, on the General's own invitation without, a

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fold. His conduct must be authorized by some instructions in opposition to those he has publicly received.

This is mockery; Napoleon wished to receive in society the Austrian and Russian officers, who are on the island, the Baroness Sturmer, as well as the strangers on board of vessels, that put in here, as was the case in 1815 and 1816; but in 1817 it was declared, that he would prefer receiving no one rather than submit to the silly and degrading formalities, which Sir Hudson Lowe had invented; and in particular that of receiving only such persons as this officer might think proper to send: that is

Letter.

previous application being made to your Excellency on each invitation. You will, therefore, consider yourself at liberty to accede to the suggestion of Count Bertrand; and you will, for the purpose, desire him to present to you for your approbation, a list of persons, not exceeding fifty in number, resident in the island, who may be admitted to Longwood, at seasonable hours, without any other pass than the invitation of General Bonaparte; it being understood, that they are, on such occasions, to deliver in the invitation as a voucher, with their names, at the barrier.

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to say, persons blinded by false prejudices against the French. This mockery, under such circumstances, is exceedingly base.

Lord Bathurst is very ill informed of what passes in this country. The reason is plain: he receives his information from an unfaithful and passionate agent: a declared enemy, whose rancour chokes him. The conversations, which this officer relates, are nothing but a tissue of falsehoods. The precaution of having his relations attested by one of his dependants proves nothing, except his own low cunning. There are a hundred exam-

Letter.

In giving your approbation to the list, you will, as far as is consistent with your duty, consult the wishes of General Bonaparte; but you will let it be clearly understood, that you reserve to yourself a discretionary power of erasing from the list, at any time, any of those individuals, to whom you may have found it inexpedient to continue such extraordinary facility of access; and you will take especial care, that a report be always made to you by the orderly officer of the several persons admitted to Longwood upon General Bonaparte's invitation.

With respect to the

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ples of the false turn, which this officer has given to every thing. One only need be cited. On the 2nd of February 1818, four months after he had read the Observations on the Speech of Lord Bathurst, he sent, without any reason, to Count Bertrand, the account of the conversation he had had, according to his statement, with Napoleon in May 1816, on the building of a house. The whole story is an invention. It was a piece of unexampled effrontery, having for its object a pretext for saying, that this false conversation, which formed one of the topics of Lord Bathurst's

Letter.

visits of strangers, who may arrive at St. Helena, General Bonaparte has not expressed much solicitude for a change in the existing regulations. His reluctance to gratify the idle curiosity of strangers is a natural feeling, to which every attention should be shown; and it is satisfactory to know, that, under the existing circumstances, the General is protected from all rude intrusions of that description, as no stranger, although he has received your Excellency's permisssion, can be admitted at Longwood, unless he has received that of the General also. I am aware, that, in giving your permission,

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Speech, had been communicated to Count Bertrand.

Mr. Ellis was presented to Napoleon in July 1817. He neither saw his bedchamber nor his inner apartments. During the conversation, there was no question of any subject in contention respecting St. Helena. Count Montholon did not converse with him on any thing relative to the establishment at Longwood, notwithstanding that Mr. Ellis, in his work on China, has presumed to set himself up as a judge in all these questions, as if he had made a counter-inquisition on the spot, respecting the matters in dispute. He has not done

Letter.

you have shown great delicacy; but, after what has been again stated on this subject, you will, I am sure, be inclined to be still more select, confining the permission to those, whose situation, character, or acquirements are such as to render it probable, that General Bonaparte might take an interest in their conversation.

It only remains for me to desire, that you will take a proper opportunity of making known to General Bonaparte the final decision upon the several points transmitted home for consideration.

I shall be sincerely happy, if the relaxa-

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honour to his character in this instance; he must have belied his own conscience to please the Ministry; but all that is said in the four or five paragraphs on this subject, is fabricated, and has not come from his pen.

If, during the twenty four months that Sir Hudson Lowe has been here, the Emperor has not gone out, the reason is, that he could not, without exposing himself to be the victim of the criminal views meditated by that officer. If insulted by the sentinels, that would have provoked scenes, which might have rejoiced the London libellers, if *the result had been tragical.* Sir Hudson Lowe had no right to make re-

Letter.

tions, which you have already made, and which you are hereby authorized to make, should in any degree tend to reconcile General Bonaparte to the situation in which he is placed, and induce him to adopt a course of life more suited to his comfort and his health; but should he, as Count Bertrand has declared that it is his purpose to do, decline taking necessary exercise within the limits, which he now admits to be adequate, unless the restriction upon his correspondence is removed, his Majesty's Government will only have to regret, that the attempt made to diminish the privations, to which he is

Observations.

strictions, nor to change what existed before his arrival. As the character of this officer is well known, if he have the right to make restrictions, which the Bill only grants to the English Government, it is evident that he will ever take a pleasure in fresh outrages, by forming new restraints; inventing conversations, and procuring false witnesses. Napoleon must shut himself up within the walls of his residence, to protect himself from the abuse of authority, exercised by this man. If the object of those, who sent Napoleon to this country, the most frightful and the most insalubrious in the universe, had been

Letter.	*Observations.*
necessarily subjected, should be frustrated by his own determination to impose upon himself restraints much more severe, than any against which he has most vehemently remonstrated. I have the honour, &c. (Signed) BATHURST.	doubtful, the choice of Sir Hudson Lowe, his continuance in office for three years, though hundreds of British officers, who have been in this island, might and must have informed the Government of his odious conduct, would remove all uncertainty on that point.

D.

Proclamation, which was issued soon after the preceding Letters were received at St. Helena.

Whereas it has been ascertained, that a present had been delivered to an inhabitant of this island, in the name or on the part of one of the foreign persons under detention at Longwood; which present was soon afterwards returned, in consequence of the person, to whom it had been delivered, becoming sensible, that his acceptance

of it, unless with the Governor's knowledge and authority, would have been a breach of the Proclamations in force; the Governor, however, deems it expedient, in enforcement of the above-said Proclamations (with reference also to the general injunction contained in the Warrant, dated 16th April, 1816), to give public notice, and public notice is hereby given, *to all officers, inhabitants, and other persons whatsoever, residing on or resorting to this island, that they are not only interdicted* (*as by the Proclamation of October* 15, 1815, *from holding any correspondence or communication with the foreign persons under detention on it*, except only such as may be regularly authorized by him; and as farther, by public Notice of the 11th May, and Proclamation of the 28th June, 1816) from receiving, delivering, or rendering themselves *the channel for the conveyances of any communication whatsoever* from or to the said persons, without his express authorization; but where any unauthorized communication shall have been or may be conveyed, or attempted to be conveyed, it behoves all those, who are acquainted with it, to give the Governor immediate information of the same (or the nearest civil or military authority, should the case so require), in order that the necessary steps may be taken thereupon, under pain of other-

wise being considered as privy to the same, and held answerable accordingly.

Given at the Castle, James' Town, this 16th day of May, 1818.

HUDSON LOWE, Lieutenant General, Governor, and Commander in Chief.

(Signed) By his Excellency's Command,
G. GORREQUER, Act. Mil. Sec.

By order of the Governor, in Council,
T. H. BROOKE, Secretary to Government.

E.

Letter from Count Bertrand to Count de Las Cases, detailing the recent occurrences at St. Helena.

Longwood, Aug. 16, 1818.

MY DEAR LAS CASES;

On the 7th of June I received the letter you wrote to me on the 15th of January last. Since then I received, on the 13th instant, those of the 15th of February, 15th of March, and 15th of April, which I have communicated. They have induced the Emperor to direct me to write to you. Four months ago I received a case of Books and Pamphlets, addressed to me by Mr. Goulburn; and, since then, a very obliging offer, to send out a picture, which was found

in the Chamber at St. Cloud, relating to the baptism of Young Napoleon. Mr. Henry Goulburn was so kind as to bate down the price of the said picture, and to get the proprietor of it to reduce its price one-half. That offer could not be accepted, on account of its appearing to form such a contrast with what takes place here, and as it seemed likely to lead to parliamentary discussions of a similar nature to those regarding the wooden house. Nevertheless, I confess the very kind behaviour you have experienced, and all you tell me in your last letter, strike me most powerfully.

Can it be possible, that the horrible vexations we experience are not with the cognizance of the English Government? And is it possible, that the private enmity of the Governor should be suffered to harass the Emperor, even unto death? Can Governments and Princes be so easily deceived? It is in this state of doubt that I now write to you.

Things are materially altered since your departure. In the year 1817, and this of 1819, the vexations practised against the Emperor are increased to that degree, that they can only be considered as an attempt upon his life. You shall judge of this by the detail. You cannot but have read in the newspapers of the month of March, certain observations upon the Speech

of Lord Bathurst; but since then things have got much worse, and the hatred of the Governor has no longer had any limits.

When you left us the Emperor gave up riding on horseback, to avoid the snares and the insults prepared for him by exposing him to the insolence of the sentinels; to avoid similar inconveniences he has been since obliged to debar himself even from walking exercise. During the months of March and April the Emperor occasionally went out to call on my wife; and sometimes, too, he used to seat himself fifty paces from the house, upon the bench near it, where he would remain half an hour or an hour. They devised means to prevent this, and to oblige him to confine himself closely to his room. They were aware that was no difficult task. They appointed a soldier of the 66th for the gardener, and they stationed at my house a sergeant or overseer of the workmen—both very useful at the house, either to remove any noxious weeds which might infect the air (for it is an impossibility to have a garden on such a spot as this), or to repair the house, which is in ruins, and admits the water upon every shower. All this appeared very reasonable; but the Governor invested these two soldiers with the power of stopping whomsoever they pleased, at the very doors and under the windows of the

Emperor. From that moment he has never been out, and it is now upwards of three months since he has put his head out of the windows.

The climate, an entire deprivation of exercise, and this miserable habitation, have impaired his health; so much, that you would not know him again. Ever since the end of September, 1817, he has felt the first symptoms of the chronic hepathetis, which you are aware is mortal in this country. The good O'Meara attended him, in whom you know he has confidence. Sir Hudson Lowe, in the month of April, at the very time this doctor was most necessary to him, reduced him to the necessity of giving in his resignation, and wanted to foist upon him Mr. Baxter, whom you all know. The Emperor refused to see any other medical attendant. From the 10th of April to the 10th of May he was without a doctor, and at last the Russian and Austrian Commissioners, who were sent out here, being indignant at this treatment, gave the Governor to understand, that if the Emperor should die in that situation, they themselves would be at a loss what to say, if the opinion should prevail in Europe, that he had been assassinated. It appears this decided the Governor to reinstate the doctor, but there is no species of ill treatment they did not make him suffer. They

wanted to get him driven from the table of the officers of the 66th, but these brave soldiers disdaining to participate in so arbitrary an act, Sir Hudson Lowe himself gave orders to the doctor, through the Colonel, to discontinue to mess with the said officers. He has written to London, and it is probable they will send him away. The Emperor will receive no other; and if the Prince Regent or Lord Liverpool decline taking cognizance of this fact, he may die here of disease, deprived even of the assistance of his medical adviser. The Emperor is, however, now very ill, and has been so for two months. He rises at eleven o'clock in the morning, and retires again at two. Some few days ago, he had an alarming crisis from the effects of the mercury, which Doctor O'Meara had given him, that being prescribed for the liver complaint. Doctor O'Meara being alarmed at his responsibility, proposed to me, that we should call in Mr. Baxter and the surgeon of the Conqueror. They are the two principal medical men in the island. You know what repugnance the Emperor felt against Mr. Baxter, arising from his having formerly been a Surgeon Major in the Italian battalion, commanded by Sir Hudson Lowe: this aversion is since much heightened, from the circumstance of his having lent himself, from the month of October, 1817, to the month

of March, 1818, in drawing up false bulletins, replete with untruths, which have deceived both his own Government and Europe; but he saw no impropriety, although he cared little about it, at our having a Mr. Stockoe called in, and he did, in fact, come to Longwood the same day at three o'clock in the afternoon, but would not go in to the Emperor, feeling that his responsibility was compromised, and that he was in danger of losing the place he had acquired by thirty years service. This appeared to me so extraordinary, that I could not credit it, and I saw him. He expressed to me his regret, for he is a very respectable old man, and easily explained the thing. He had been lightly given to understand he might go, in the same way as they did to Mr. Coles, the banker. I had some money account to settle with him, and sent for him; but when he came, he said he would not enter upon the subject, except in the presence of the orderly officer, for, if he did, he should be lost. Of course, I declined that. The same case happened a few days ago with Mr. Fowler, who has arrived from England. I had an account to settle with him, amounting to a few hundred pounds, for some clothes made in London. You are not aware of the situation we are in now; it can in no instance be compared with our situation in

your time, and even then it was bad enough; and you sufficiently know our master to induce you to use your influence, to prevent any of the Emperor's family from coming out here. The spectacle of the humiliations, the vexations, the hatred he is a prey to, would be utterly insupportable, were his mother or any of his brothers to come and share them. Even Count de Montholon and myself, who are now the only persons with him, have been repeatedly pressed by him to go and release ourselves from the like treatment, and to leave him to himself. He assures us his agony would be less acute, if he did not see, that we also were the victims of this misery. You remember the officers have not visited me for a long time, but whenever they met us on the road, they had the civility to stop and speak with my wife. They have now been forbidden to do that, not in writing, but by insinuation; so that it has frequently happened, that these officers, on perceiving us, have turned out of the road.

Things have now come to such a pitch, that the foul linen remains several days to be searched by the orderly captain, and sometimes by the etat-major. This scene is not only highly indecent, but very humiliating to them; its only purpose is insult and outrage.

In the month of June, 1816, a store ship

brought out a marble bust of Young Napoleon. Sir Hudson Lowe directed, that it should be thrown into the sea; he afterwards denied it, but we have a judicial attestation of it; for this act disgusted both Lady Malcolm, who was still here, and all the commanders of the store ships, who were then here.

After this, in the month of February last, the Captain of the store ship, Cambridge, brought out two engravings or prints of Young Napoleon, which he had purchased at London. Sir Hudson Lowe had them bought, stating he intended them as a present to the father; and when, a month afterwards, the officers of that ship learnt the contrary to be the fact (*viz.* in order to keep them for himself), they were no longer able to dissemble their indignation, at such an act having been committed by an Englishman.

All this conduct, on the part of the Governor, cannot be disguised or withheld from the British Government. If what the Emperor told Lord Amherst were repeated in London; if they inquired of Captain Poppleton, who was the orderly officer for two years; if they asked Colonel Fehrzen, of the 53d, and many others, they must be aware of the base conduct pursued here.

If the Emperor has any enemy in Europe,

who would have applauded the English Government if they had openly and publicly put him to death on board the Bellerophon, there can be none who will not one day load with imprecations and opprobrium the authors of his destruction in so dastardly a manner.

How can this be reconciled with what you write me? Possibly by some crafty correspondence, teeming with lies and prepared with cunning address. We have at all times, for two years, preferred our complaints pretty openly, and they ought to be informed in London of the criminal conduct observed here.

You will be amazed at my mentioning the French, Austrian, and Russian Commissioners who are here. Whilst you were here we never saw them. Even now they have not seen the Emperor, nor have they visited us; but we have met them several times on the roads of the boundary, a ridiculous way enough. If the Emperor has not acknowledged them as Commissioners, he has never refused to receive them as strangers. As to the Governor, he has not seen him since the month of August 1816, and you are acquainted with the Emperor's reasons for not receiving him, after the insults he has offered him. In this state of things, that Sir Hudson Lowe should take revenge, may be explained, although, most unquestionably, it does

not give proof of any generosity of character; but what explanation can be given for the Government's continuing, for two years, its confidence in a man who so surprizingly abuses it?

I implore you then, instantly, and in the name of the Emperor, to acquaint his family and his relations with the situation of things in this country; and to require imperiously, that none of them come here to aggravate his misfortunes by wishing to share them.

You tell us that the English Government has contracted for our being supplied with the Morning Chronicle. It is the same with this journal as with the Times; they do send it to us, keeping back those numbers it is convenient to withhold. Thus they have sent us some numbers for February, and some for March, but they have kept back all they did not wish us to see. Not to have a series of journals, is worse than having none.

How do they send us the Books? As soon as a store ship arrives, the Governor's first care is to buy up all the books she has, especially the French, to prevent our buying them.

With regard to the Pamphlets you advise us of, we have only received, up to the 12th of March, one entire case, a list of which you will find inclosed, and on the 28th of the same month seven volumes, of which you will also

find inclosed a specification. This leads us to believe they probably have withheld the remainder.

I have read this letter to the Emperor, and he has approved the contents, thinking, however, that I have only faintly expressed the baseness of the conduct observed towards him. He desires me to add two Notes, which will put you in possession of his real opinion of the officer to whom they have confided the government of this island. The calomel has not hitherto improved the state of his liver, while it has been the cause of other indisposition.

Accept, my dear Las Cases, the assurance of my affectionate sentiments.

(Signed) BERTRAND.

P. S. In the few days which have elapsed since my letter was written, many occurrences have taken place, which will prove to you how much worse our situation grows instead of better, as you seem to think. You know that Captain Mackay, an officer in the 53d, was succeeded as orderly officer at Longwood by Captain Poppleton, of the same regiment, and he, on his departure, was succeeded by Captain Blakeny, of the 66th, an officer who, like his predecessors, enjoyed the highest character in the regiment. Within a very few days of his

arrival he found, that the Governor required things of him very unworthy of a man of honour; but, as that evil sensibly increased, he urgently requested, as soon as his year's service in this disgusting post expired, that he might be relieved from it. We know that he declared, confidentially, to his friends in the regiment, that it was impossible for a man of honour to continue in the post, without forfeiting his own good opinion. It may be, too, that Sir Hudson Lowe was not satisfied with the avowed sentiments of this officer; but, however that may be, on the 20th of this month, one of the officers sent out to the island to hold a command in the militia, and whose old connection with Sir Hudson Lowe you are no stranger to, and the only person on the Governor's Staff whom the Emperor refused to see, came and assumed the post of the orderly officer, and with him, under sundry pretexts, another officer; so that we have now two, instead of one. It appears that some Government rooms and effects, which had been given in common for the orderly officer and Dr. O'Meara, had led to some sharp altercation between them.

On the 22d, I addressed the Protest, marked A, to the Governor, who had a challenge sent to me by the said officer. It is beneath my character and situation to provoke Sir Hudson

Lowe; but under these circumstances I felt it my duty to address to him the letter marked B.

On the 24th, he made Dr. O'Meara leave Longwood, in virtue, he said, of an order from Lord Bathurst, as you will see by the Governor's letter marked C, to Count de Montholon, who replied to him by the Letter subjoined, D.

Doctor O'Meara, as you know, was given to the Emperor by an Order of Council, in the place of his own doctor, and in consequence of the special demand I addressed to Admiral Keith. The Emperor can only be deprived of him by an Order in Council. If such an order exists, why not let us see it? Unquestionably, neither the Council nor Lord Bathurst ought to deprive the Emperor of the physician of his choice; they must be sensible of the consequence, unless they supply his place by some other in his confidence.

But, if an Order in Council to that effect did exist, that would not justify the conduct of the Governor; for such an Order, given under ordinary circumstances, could never be intended to be put in force at a period when the Emperor was seriously ill. It never could be their intention to remove his doctor, in the midst of the treatment of so serious a disorder, which assailed his life, especially since we have requested, ever since the month of April, that, if

they intended to remove Dr. O'Meara, they should send some one from Europe to supply his place, who might have the patient's confidence; which request ought to have been answered in less than three months.

I conclude, my dear Las Cases, with a breaking heart, and remain, &c.

(Signed) BERTRAND.

First arrival of Books, contained in a case delivered the 12th of March, 1818.

Modern Biography	3 vols.
L'Hermite de la Chaussé d'Antin	2
Le Franc Parleur	2
L'Hermite de la Guyanne	3
Tableau Historique de la Litterature depuis 1789.	1
La France et les Français en 1817	1
Histoire du Doujon et chateau de Vincennes	3
Bulletins de Paris, 1815	1
Les Devoirs	2
Histoire des Societés Sécrets de l'année 1815	1
Le Faux Dauphin	2
Le Cri des Peuples	1
Curious and interesting Anecdotes	1
On the Organisation of the Armed Force, 1817	1
Total	27 vols.

Lettres Normandes et Champenoises, 15 Numbers.

N. B. These Books were not sent upon your application, but in consequence of a letter written to the niece of my wife, the Countess of Leedkerke, daughter of M. de Latour Dupin, a

letter, which was sent back to us from London, and upon which Mr. Goulburn was kind enough to undertake to send us some books and pamphlets, which were requested to be sent regularly every month. For the rest, since the 28th of March, we have received no others, although several store-ships and vessels of war have arrived. B.

Second Arrival—received the 28th of March, 1818.

History of the Campaigns of 1814 and 1815, by Alphonse de Beauchamp.....	4 vols.
Itineraire du retour de l'Isle d'Elbe.....	2
Abridgement of the Life of the Duke of Otranto.	1
Total	7 vols.

Notes written by the Emperor on the back of Sir Hudson Lowe's letter, dated the 18th November, 1817.

Longwood, this 23rd Nov., 1817.

This letter, that of the 26th of July, and that of the 26th of October last, are full of lies. I have shut myself up in my apartment for the last eighteen months, to shelter myself from the insults of this officer. My health is now impaired, and it no longer permits me to read such disgusting stuff. Send me no more of it.

Whether this officer conceives himself authorised by verbal and secret instructions from his Ministry, as he has given it to be understood, or whether he acts from his own impulse, which

one may suppose from the care he takes to disguise it, I cannot but treat him as my assassin.

Had they sent a man of honour out here, I should doubtless have experienced less torment, but they would have then escaped that odium with which they will be branded by Europe and History, whom this artful man's farrago of writing will not deceive.

(Signed) NAPOLEON.

(A.)

Protest addressed to the Governor, the 22d of July, 1818.

In the name of the Emperor Napoleon, I am directed to protest—

1. Against all violation of the boundary by the domestics, workmen, or others whom you may secretly clothe with the garment of public authority.

2. Against the injuries done to Dr. O'Meara to oblige him to leave this place, and against the obstructions, open or covert, which you have or may occasion, to prevent Napoleon's being assisted in his disorder with the advice and opinion of a medical practitioner, in whom he may have confidence, accredited to that service by his Britannic Majesty, or admitted to publicly exercise his functions in the island.

3. Against the testimony, reports, and writings of the Militia officer Lyster, who is only

stationed at Longwood as an instrument of hatred and vengeance.

(Signed) THE COUNT BERTRAND.

(B.)

To the Governor.

Longwood, July 25, 1818.

SIR;—I have the honour to send you a letter, which I have received.

The old man, who wrote it, appears to me to be out of his senses.

He cannot be acquainted with my official correspondence, except by your orders. I have not answered him, nor shall I answer him. He is merely a second; and should his principal, being a General Officer, require me to explain, I am ready to do him that honour.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your most humble and obedient servant,
(Signed) THE COUNT BERTRAND.

(C.)

Letter to Count Montholon.

Plantation House, July 25, 1818.

SIR;—I do myself the honour to acquaint you, for the information of Napoleon Bonaparte, that, by an instruction received from Earl Bathurst, dated 16th May, 1818, I am directed to withdraw Mr. O'Meara from attend-

ance upon his person, and have given orders for his departure from Longwood accordingly. Rear Admiral Plampin has received instructions on the same occasion from the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, in respect to him on his quitting this island. On the removal of Mr. O'Meara, Earl Bathurst's farther instructions are, that 'I am to direct Dr. Baxter to give his medical attendance to Napoleon Bonaparte, whenever it may be required; and particularly instruct him, on all occasions, to consider the health of Napoleon Bonaparte as the principal object of his attention: that, in communicating this arrangement, I am not to fail acquainting him at the same time, that, should he have reason to be dissatisfied with Dr. Baxter's medical attendance, or should prefer that of any other professional man on the island, I am perfectly prepared to acquiesce in his wish on the subject, and to permit the attendance of any medical practitioner selected by him, provided that he conforms strictly to the regulations in force. Having, therefore, conveyed to Mr. O'Meara the order for his removal, I have given the necessary instructions to Mr. Baxter; he will be ready, in consequence, to repair to Longwood, on any summons or signal that may be made to him. In the mean time, until I may be informed of Napoleon Bonaparte's own desires on the

subject, I shall direct a medical officer to be in waiting at Longwood for any sudden call.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) H. LOWE, Lieut. Gen.

(D.)

Letter from Count Montholon to the Governor.

SIR;—Dr. O'Meara quitted Longwood yesterday, obliged to abandon his patient in the midst of a treatment he was directing for him.

This morning that treatment has ceased—this morning a great crime commences to be carried into execution!

The letters of Count Bertrand of the 13th, 24th, 26th, and 27th of April last, leave me nothing to add. The Emperor will never receive any other doctor than Mr. O'Meara, because he is his own, or some one, who shall be sent out from Europe, conformably with the above-quoted letter of the 13th of April.

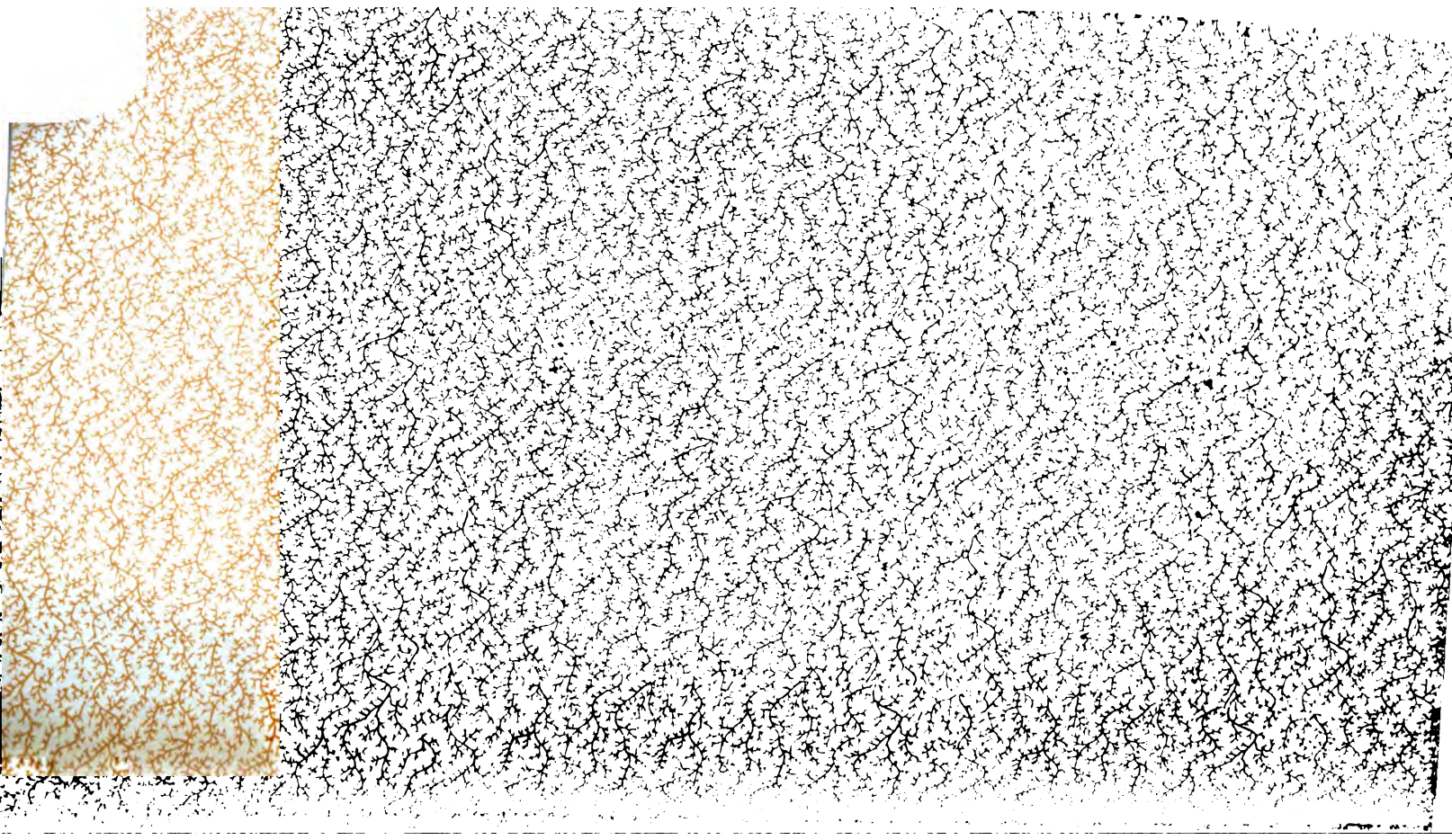
I have communicated the letter you wrote me yesterday; the one I now have the honour to write you is the substance of the reply I am directed to send you. I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most humble Servant,

(Signed) MONTHOLON.

THE END.

CHARLES WOOD, Printer,
Poppin's Court, Fleet Street, London.



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